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The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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Across Cultures: Meiji Japan and the Western World: This issue commemorates the conference of Japanese and American Historians held at San Francisco, December 27–30, 1978, and sponsored jointly by the American Historical Association and the National Committee of Japanese Historians. The objectives of the conference were (1) to educate members of both organizations about their respective needs and interests, (2) to exchange views about the development of historical studies in Japan and the United States, and (3) to explore the possibility of future cooperation between the two organizations and among historians of both countries.



Contributors:

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GEORGE MACKLIN WILSON is a professor of history and East Asian languages and cultures at Indiana University, Bloomington. Author of studies of Japanese nationalism and modern ideological history—among them *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937* (1969) and "A New Look at Japanese Fascism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1968)—he is interested in the motivation of historical actors during revolutionary processes. He is currently engaged in revising a book elaborating his thesis that the Meiji Restoration fulfilled Japan's central historical myth.

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Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan

DONALD RODEN

THE SURGE OF INTEREST in athletics and gymnastics that overtook parts of Europe and the United States at the end of the nineteenth century has begun to receive the scholarly attention it deserves as a remarkable manifestation of the spirit of the times.[1] Despite Johan Huizinga's characterization of the sporting world as "illusionary" and "standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life," it is apparent that the defenders of outdoor games in Victorian England and America "quite consciously" used the playing field for very real political and social ends.[2] For Thomas Hughes, cricket and football superseded book learning in the cultivation of Christian "manliness"; for Edward Thring, athletic contests were a "priceless boon" in helping the English become "such an adventurous race"; for Herbert Spencer, "sportive activities," free from gymnastic regimentation and peer-group coercion, were "divinely appointed means" to human welfare and development; and, for Theodore Roosevelt, "the strenuous life" of physical strife and challenge was a key to "true national greatness."[3] Underlying the views of these and other spokesmen for "the life of manly vigor" is the attempt to link sport, first, to the ideal social character of a governing elite and, second, to the strength of the nation.

Presumably, the recognition of the social and political value of sport was rooted in the Social Darwinist perception of "civilization" generated by what Spencer called "a persistence of force." But along with the notion of the rectitude of might was a corresponding fear that the mechanization of power in an industrializing state spawns moral lassitude. Routine, convenience, docility, and protruding stomachs were all alarming signs that, as Roosevelt declared in 1894, "a peaceful and commercial civilization" was on the verge of forfeiting those

This article emerged from a talk before the Rutgers Seminar in Asian Studies on January 26, 1978.

[1] For recent studies that are devoted, at least in part, to the late nineteenth-century athletic revival, see Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sports in *Fin-de-Siècle* France: Opium of the Classes?" *AHR*, 76 (1971): 70–98; John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890's," in John Weiss, ed., *The Origins of Modern Consciousness* (Detroit, 1965), 25–48; David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961); John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage, 1850–1950* (Reading, Mass., 1974); and Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York, 1978).

[2] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Boston, 1955), 8–13.

[3] For Thring's view of sports, see Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, esp. 213–14, 222; and John R. Gillis, *Youth and History* (New York, 1974), 110–11. For Spencer's, see his *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (London, 1909), 273; and, for Roosevelt's, see his *The Strenuous Life* (New York, 1900), 22.

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"virile fighting qualities" that were the source of its rise.[4] Thus, participation in athletics became a moral imperative to counteract the sloth that progress brings and to keep the fires of adventure burning among those who occupy the highest offices of state. In an age when many assumed that only the fittest nations could survive and flourish in a hostile world, athletics, patriotism, and the ideology of manliness were inseparable.

While sport was gaining recognition as a symbol of national strength and elitist pretension in late nineteenth-century England and America, the absence of sport in any foreign land could be interpreted, conversely, as a sure signal of cultural weakness and even racial inferiority. According to the logic of Rudyard Kipling and Thomas Hughes, lands not inhabited by Stalkies, Tom Browns, or Dink Stovers were not "civilized" and, hence, deserved to be colonized by the bold and the athletic. William Mathews, professor at the University of Chicago, wrote in his popular, late-century handbook for "young America," "that the splendid empires which England has founded in every quarter of the globe have had their origin largely in the football contests at Eton, the boat-races on the Thames, and the cricket-matches on her downs and heaths, who can doubt? The race so widely dominant . . . is dominant because its institutions cultivate self-reliance, and its breeding develops endurance, courage, and pluck."[5] Destitute of these hearty attributes, the "lesser races" had little hope of rising above a feeble state of subjugation. It is little wonder, then, that colonial settlements from Shanghai to Algiers had their share of sportsmen whose conspicuous club activities could be construed as evidence of superior "breeding" and vindication of imperialism. The athletic subculture in the coastal treaty ports of Japan was no exception.

In the mid-nineteenth century Japan was, like the rest of Asia, vulnerable to imperialist incursion. The "unequal" treaties negotiated among the Western powers and the Tokugawa *bakufu* in the 1850s opened six coastal ports for preferential trade and granted Americans and Europeans living in those ports complete extraterritorial authority in all criminal and civil matters. Foreign garrisons backed up by men-of-war, which used the ports as coaling stations, helped guarantee trading and residential privileges during the turbulent years of the Meiji Restoration. As a consequence of the treaties, the foreign residents, visitors, and military personnel, whose combined numbers soared to over fifteen thousand during the 1860s,[6] were free to transform the settlements into distinct

[4] Roosevelt, *American Ideals* (New York, 1897), 40.

[5] Mathews, *Getting on in the World: or, Hints on Success in Life* (Chicago, 1883), 58–59.

[6] It is impossible to get precise figures for the floating population of foreigners in the treaty ports. Both William E. Griffis and M. Paske-Smith estimated that in Yokohama alone there were as many as seven thousand Westerners at any time during the late 1860s and early 1870s, and Harold S. Williams has given the same estimate for the European and American population in Nagasaki. The combined numbers of Westerners in the remaining settlements must have easily topped one thousand. The number of permanent foreign residents from the West, however, never rose much higher than three thousand. According to a census in 1897, Yokohama had just under that number of permanent residents from Europe and the United States. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (10th ed., New York, 1903), 351; Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa* (2d ed., New York, 1968), 218; Williams, *Tales of the Foreign Settlements* (Tokyo, 1958), 31; F. C. Jones, *Extraterritoriality in Japan* (New Haven, 1931), 93; and D. W. S., *European Settlements in the Far East* (New York, 1900), 27.

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cultural enclaves. And, once the initial problems of accommodation and security were overcome, the leaders of the settlements devoted much of their civic energies to enhancing the amenities of colonial life with "international clubs" staffed by major domos in white jackets, "public parks" interlaced by sidewalks for Sunday morning strolls, spacious lawns for afternoon teas and games of croquet, and gymnasiums and playing fields for local sportsmen.[7]

From the early years of Japanese treaty ports athletics was at the center of the male-dominated social and recreational life of the foreign community. Writing about the largest settlement in Yokohama during the 1880s, John Morris noted that "sport is pursued in all its branches with that ardour which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race wherever met with." Among the sports that Morris witnessed were cricket, tennis, crew, and rifle-shooting—all performed with "a zest that amazes the native population."[8] Other early visitors to the foreign settlement in Yokohama were similarly impressed by the "zest" for athletics that accentuated the cultural disparity between "the rough and aggressive Anglo-Saxons" and "a nation whose men flew kites, studied flower arrangement, enjoyed toy gardens, carried fans, and manifested other effeminate customs and behaviors."[9] Despite a fascination for "old samurai tales" and an awareness of the "enlightened" policies of the Meiji government, popular stereotypes of the Japanese as being "essentially feeble"—and most certainly wanting in the virtues of the athletic field—continued to influence the attitudes of resident Westerners in the 1870s and 1880s.

The cultural lag that allowed foreign citizens in the treaty ports to foist the image of effeminacy and unmanliness on the Japanese would not, of course, stand up against the overwhelming realities of the *fin de siècle*. The development of a strong constitutional government, the triumph in the Sino-Japanese War, the growth of the textile industry for foreign export, and, finally, the negotiations to abrogate the "unequal" treaties all combined in the 1890s to make old stereotypes untenable. Suddenly, "Japan the exotic" became "Japan the competitor" in war, diplomacy, commerce, and, one may add, baseball.[10]

Of the outdoor games that attracted Japanese youth at the turn of the century, none rivaled baseball in igniting enthusiasm among players, spectators, and readers of an expanding popular press. How baseball rose from oblivion to embody the Social Darwinist spirit of competition and "vigor" (*genki*) that

[7] According to Paske-Smith, Yokohama was "a rival to Shanghai in its immoderate expensiveness," something that did not seem to daunt the free-spending patrons of the race track or the "officers and gentlemen" who had the exclusive privilege to carouse at the Hotel Anglo-Saxon; *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa*, 218, 267. For other colorful descriptions of life in the settlement, see Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 327–52; Williams, *Tales of the Foreign Settlements*, 37–63, 108–36, 220–36; Paul C. Blum, *Yokohama in 1872* (Tokyo, 1963), esp. 24–44; and Otis M. Poole, *The Death of Old Yokohama* (London, 1966), 17–28.

[8] Morris, *Advance Japan* (London, 1895), 223.

[9] This typical Victorian characterization is taken from Edward S. Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 2 (New York, 1917): 433. Morse merely summarized the mid-century, Western view of Japan, a view that he, writing after the Russo-Japanese War, no longer accepted. Morse went on to quote from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1857, which describes the Japanese as "essentially feeble and pusillanimous." For more on the late nineteenth-century image of the feminine East versus the masculine West, see Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (2d ed., Princeton, 1966), esp. 22–23.

[10] For a discussion of images at the turn of the century, see Akira Iriye, "Japan as a Competitor, 1895–1917," in Iriye, ed., *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 73–99.

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swept Japan in the 1890s, how it heralded a new chapter in Japanese-American relations, and how it ultimately enhanced both the social image of a student elite and the geopolitical image of a nation that was just breaking free from the shackles of "unequal" treaties are the subject of this essay.

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANYONE ATTENDING COLLEGE in the 1870s in Japan could have predicted that athletics in general and baseball in particular would figure in the quest for national dignity at the end of the century. As it was, most students and their teachers had only the foggiest conception of Western sports, let alone a plan for an extracurricular athletic program under institutional sponsorship. In fact, early Meiji educators were not at all convinced of the need for physical education in any form. The preamble to the Educational Code of 1872, the document that gave shape and purpose to the post-Restoration school system, made no mention of physical fitness; the code's articles assigned the lowest priority to physical exercise in the primary schools and ignored the subject entirely in establishing academic guidelines for secondary schools.[11] Behind this unhesitating dismissal was a widespread sense of urgency among educators that "practical knowledge" in the form of "Western studies" must be disseminated as quickly and as efficiently as possible. To interrupt the study of geography, basic science, or foreign languages with extended recesses for students to hoist dumbbells or skip rope seemed like a luxury the nation could ill afford. Besides, on a philosophic level, it was generally assumed in the early 1870s that a "civilized man" was someone of intellectual, and not necessarily physical, prowess.[12]

Among the first to voice concern over the lopsided academic demands imposed upon early Meiji students were foreign teachers who had been employed by the government to facilitate the transmission of Western learning. Reflecting upon his four years of service at a commercial school in Tokyo between 1876 and 1880, W. Gray Dixon noted that "the frequency of sickness among the students and their generally delicate physique demanded greater attention to out-of-door exercise." Indeed, "a passion for intellectual development," he continued, "seemed to blind them to the necessity of an accompanying development of the body."[13] Dixon's critique of the "narrow intellectualism" in the early Meiji school system was echoed by other Western teachers at the time, including William E. Griffis, who contrasted the scholarly aptitude of his advanced students with their "docile" dispositions and their lack of "fire, energy, and manly independence." Nor was his assessment unique: "The experience of foreign teachers on this point is almost unanimous." And, Griffis asserted in 1874, "native officials have no clear idea, often none at all, of the absolute necessity of ex-

[11] Imamura Yoshio, *Nihon taiikushi* (Tokyo, 1951), 61–62, 74. The low priority of physical education was evidenced as late as the Education Ordinance (*Kyōikurei*) of 1879, in which calisthenics was grouped with music, painting, and other optional subjects that could be appended to the core curriculum "depending on local conditions"; Inoue Kazuo, *Gakkō taiiku seidoshi* (Tokyo, 1970), 13–14.

[12] For what may be the best statement in English of the materialist-utilitarian perspective, see Fukuzawa Yukichi, *An Encouragement of Learning*, trans. David Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst (Tokyo, 1973).

[13] Dixon, *The Land of the Morning* (Edinburgh, 1882), 364–65.

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ercise, in the open air and sunshine, for young persons of both sexes."[14] Like Dixon, Griffis believed that Japan's development as a modern civilization would depend as much upon the building of physical character as it would upon the mastery of science and foreign languages.

Responding in large part to the opinions of American educators, the Ministry of Education decided in 1878 to establish a special Gymnastics Institute (*Taisō Denshūjo*), the purpose of which was to train physical education instructors for the primary schools. Selected as the first director of the institute was Dr. George A. Leland, a recent graduate of the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education at Amherst College and a student of Edward Hitchcock, one of the pioneers in the development of physical education in the United States.[15] While in Japan, Leland concentrated on developing a regimen of "light calisthenics" (*kei taisō*) or group setting-up exercises that could easily be institutionalized in the primary schools. "Heavy exercise" that required more than bean bags or hoops for equipment and organized athletics were of less interest to Leland for two reasons. First, his own sense of cultural relativism, supported by "scientific" studies of Japanese stature and mores, led him to consider the Japanese psychologically and physically incapable of excelling in rigorous team sports like baseball or football. (He was more sanguine about Japanese capabilities in "softer" sports, such as tennis or croquet.[16]) And, second, Leland probably feared that the encouragement of competitive sports might foster a resurgence of a small athletic elite that would continue the samurai legacy of using physical training as a status privilege, while the rest of the population languished in a state of obsequious indolence. Naturally, such a possibility would have undermined the goal of developing a national program of physical fitness in which every student took part.[17]

Leland's hope for a universal and compulsory program of physical education was realized soon after his return to the United States in 1881, although not exactly in the manner he had envisioned. Beginning in the same year with the issuance of the Principles of Primary School Instruction (*Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō*), twenty minutes of each school day were set aside for light calisthenics. The exclusive reliance on Leland's methods was short-lived, however, as the new Primary School Ordinance of 1886 prescribed a more elaborate program of physical education that included infantry-style exercises in rank and file.[18] The appearance of "military calisthenics" (*heishiki taisō*) in the primary, middle, and normal schools must be attributed to the influence of Mori Arinori, the minister of education from 1885 to 1889. Even before assuming office, Mori had spoken out on the need for a tightly regimented program of paramilitary drills that could supplement the less demanding routine at the Gymnastics Institute.[19]

[14] Griffis, "Education in Japan," *College Courant*, 14 (1874): 97, 170. For a similar view, see F. W. Strange, *Outdoor Games* (Tokyo, 1883), i–iii.

[15] Paul C. Phillias, "The Amherst Illustrious: George A. Leland," *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, 14 (1924–25): 29–33.

[16] Kimura Ki, *Japanese Literature: Manners and Customs in the Meiji-Taishō Era* (Tokyo, 1957), 252.

[17] Phillias, "The Amherst Illustrious," 30–31.

[18] Imamura, *Nihon taikushi*, 113–16.

[19] Ivan Hall, *Mori Arinori* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 337–42.

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Through this expanded regimen, he hoped not only to build stronger bodies but also to instill the nation's children with the virtues of unquestioning obedience to the state. The interlocking of body, mind, and nation was made explicit in officially sanctioned slogans and "physical education songs" that called upon the young to exercise faithfully every day "for the sake of the country."[20]

While group calisthenics were quickly institutionalized for the rudimentary grades, the physical fitness program in the advanced higher schools and at the university was slower in developing.[21] The underexercised student elite continued to attract unfavorable attention in the 1880s, as it had during the previous decade; only now Japanese educators led the attack. The depth of concern was reflected in an essay by one of Leland's assistants at the Gymnastics Institute, Hiraiwa Nobuo, who criticized the contemporary college students for their distorted academic "mania." "They are contemptuous of their bodies," Hiraiwa claimed, "as if strength of physique were tantamount to savagery or animalistic power." Therefore, he continued, "they just sit at their desks absorbed in their studies, failing to realize that their brains might expire with the oil in their lamps."[22] What especially worried Hiraiwa—and a number of his colleagues—was the potential for discrepancy in a school system that forced students at the lower levels to exercise vigorously, while students in the higher schools and at the university were left alone to study or, worse yet, philander in the streets of Tokyo as their muscles grew flabby and their complexions paled. Was it not the obligation of an academic elite to be strong of body as well as of mind? Most educators thought that it was, but they were still reluctant to impose the same routine of daily exercise on the student elite that was becoming universal in the primary schools. As one higher school headmaster explained in 1888, the advanced academic institution should not be run like a military academy.[23]

So the question arose: how could the higher school and university administrators promote physical training without turning their students into mindless followers who were stripped of all leadership capability? The best resolution was to require only minimal doses of group calisthenics and military exercises while compensating for any slack in physical fitness that might result by encouraging students to participate in "outdoor games" (*kogai yūgi*). Initially, the games were limited to occasional field days (*undōkai*), highlighted by obstacle races, tug-of-wars, and capture-the-flag contests. Unfortunately, these events failed to inspire students with a serious appreciation of physical culture. Popular literature of the 1880s tells of students entering field-day competitions solely to attract the atten-

[20] Imamura Yoshio, *Nihon taiikushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1967), 806–09.

[21] The structure of the post-Restoration school system is best perceived as a pyramid with a rudimentary primary school education for all children at the base and a university education for a select few at the top. (Until 1897 there was only one national or, as of 1886, imperial university, Tokyo University, which towered over an assortment of private colleges and technical schools.) In between the exclusive university and mass primary schools were two layers of middle schools and university preparatory schools. The exact nomenclature for the latter was in continual transition until 1886, when the advanced secondary school became the "higher middle school" (*kōtō chūgakkō*), which was simplified to "higher school" (*kōtō gakkō*) six years later. To avoid unnecessary confusion, I am using the simplified designation throughout this article. For the best discussion in English of the Meiji school system, see Hall, *Mori Arinori*, chaps. 9–10.

[22] Imamura, *Nihon taiikushi*, 103.

[23] Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō, *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō rokujūnenshi* (Tokyo, 1939), 106.

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tion of onlooking courtesans—not exactly what administrators had in mind.[24] By the early 1890s, it was clear that, in order for "outdoor games" to have the desired effect of fostering stamina and self-discipline, they would have to be integrated into a program of extracurricular athletics. In contrast to the haphazardness and spontaneity of the field days, the new program would be devoted to organizing athletic clubs, requiring a total commitment from their members to train for intercollegiate competition in which the reputation of the school would be at stake. "Outdoor games" that had been viewed as simple fun by the students were replaced by Western team sports characterized by formal organization, rigorous training, strict rules, and the presence of officials at all matches. Although the first sport to gain popularity on the campuses was crew, which had the obvious advantage of being relatively simple as well as fiercely competitive, baseball was the sport that ultimately won the hearts of the student community in the 1890s and early 1900s.

THE RISE OF BASEBALL IN JAPAN cannot, of course, be separated from the origins and development of the sport in the United States. By 1870, when cultural and diplomatic exchanges between the two countries were commencing in earnest, baseball was already widely played across the United States and was heralded by many as "the national game."[25] In part, the soaring popularity of the sport was tied to the belief that baseball was, as Henry Chadwick so quickly pointed out, "in every way . . . suited to the American character."[26] This particularist view was echoed by other early promoters of the sport, notably Albert G. Spalding, who summarized his long-standing feelings in one of the first histories of baseball, which was written in 1911. Baseball, said Spalding, had "all the attributes of American origin [and] American character"; indeed, it was "the exponent of American Courage, Confidence, Combativeness; American Dash, Discipline, Determination; American Energy, Eagerness, Enthusiasm . . . ; American Vim, Vigor, Virility."[27] To play baseball, in other words, was to exude those manly virtues that were singularly appropriate to the United States.

Accepting baseball as the incarnation of the Yankee spirit, Spalding and his colleagues had an ambiguous attitude toward the spread of the sport to other parts of the world. On the one hand, the laws of cultural relativism stipulated that baseball was created for Americans to be played by Americans, leaving little opportunity for the foreigner to learn to play. At the same time, the promoters insisted that baseball, to use Spalding's expression, "follow the flag around the world," and they made elaborate efforts, beginning with Spalding's celebrated mission to England in 1874, to introduce America's "national game" to peoples in distant lands. Even if the primary motivation behind such mission-

[24] Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Tōsei shosei katagi*, in *Nihon no bungaku*, 1 (Tokyo, 1971): 11. For another fleeting reference to field-day activities, see Higuchi Ichiyo, "Growing Up," trans. Edward Seidensticker, in Donald Keene, ed., *Modern Japanese Literature* (New York, 1960), 71.

[25] Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage, 1850–1950*, 92–97; and David Q. Voight, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System* (Norman, Okla., 1966), 12–13.

[26] Chadwick, as quoted in David Q. Voight, *America through Baseball* (Chicago, 1976), 83.

[27] Spalding, *Baseball: America's National Game* (New York, 1911), 3–4.

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ary zeal was to put American manliness on display, there was an implicit assumption that, if British, French, or Egyptian youth could begin to experiment with baseball on their own, they would also come to appreciate the depth of American ingenuity and determintion.[28] In this sense, baseball could enlarge the American cultural sphere of influence and bring greater respect for the nation around the world.

Among the American sailors and businessmen in Yokohama, who were undoubtedly the first to play baseball on Japanese soil, the game was the means of preserving a frontier spirit of daring and adventure that had brought them to this curious and distant land in the first place. By smashing home runs, a young bachelor from the Midwest compensated for the demoralizing effects of settlement brothels and grog shops while safeguarding the integrity of his national identity. Such activity was important in order to maintain social and cultural distance from the Japanese and, to a lesser extent, from the British, who outnumbered the Americans in Yokohama by as much as three to one. Owing to their superior numbers, the British initially dominated social and recreational life, including the Yokohama Athletic Club, whose cricket enthusiasts made greatest use of the one playing field in the settlement. The situation changed during the 1880s, however, when Americans joined the club in sufficient numbers to gain equal access to the field, thus paving the way for baseball to eclipse cricket as the most popular spectator sport in Yokohama.[29] At any event, the Yokohama Athletic Club, as the sponsoring organization for all major sporting activities in the settlement and as an enduring bastion of wealth and privilege, upheld strict regulations, which lasted into the early 1890s, that forbade Japanese from entering the park where the playing field was located.[30] Such restrictions were not, obviously, conducive to the spread of any Western sport, including baseball, beyond the perimeter of the settlement.

While young businessmen and sailors were happy to maintain baseball as a symbol of extraterritorial privilege and unique cultural identity, a few American educators in Japan had a quite different perspective on the sport. Four teachers in particular—Horace Wilson, F. W. Strange, G. H. Mudgett, and Leroy

[28] For a discussion of baseball and "the mission of America myth," see Voight, *America through Baseball*, chap. 7. For a general analysis of American assumptions of originality and calling, see Edward Burns, *The American Idea of Mission* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957).

[29] Undoubtedly, cricket preceded baseball as a popular sport in the settlement. According to Paske-Smith, the first circket match was held in Yokohama in 1864 between teams from the British army and navy. Thereafter, the sport flourished for two decades under the aegis of what was originally called the Yokohama Cricket Club, the precursor to the Yokohama Cricket and Athletic Club (for which I am using the simpler designation—Yokohama Athletic Club—in this article). The decline of cricket at the turn of the century, which seemed to parallel the rise of baseball, is referred to explicitly in the *Japan Weekly Mail*. In describing a game that took place in the spring of 1902, for example, the reporter for the *Mail* described "the pitiable display of bowling and slack inefficient fielding" of the players. The "decay" of cricket had, in the reporter's words, "reached its nadir," and it was now the solemn obligation of "old public school boys" to try to "revive" the sport "for the sake of the best traditions of the fine old English game." The warning, apparently, was never heeded, as a few would-be cricket players even joined the American baseball team, presumably out of desperation. See Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa*, 270; and *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 31, 1902, July 12, 1903.

[30] According to Kimijima Ichirō, there were signs posted on the park grounds that read, "Japanese may not enter" (*Nihonjin hairu bekarzu*); Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki* (Tokyo, 1972), 13. Also see Hirose Kenzō, *Nihon no yakyūshi* (Tokyo, 1964), 8.

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Janes—were avowed baseball *aficionados* who arrived in Japan in the early 1870s hoping to introduce America's "national game" to their students.[31] Although no evidence suggests the four coordinated their missionary effort, each seemed convinced that baseball could effectively break down cultural barriers. Moreover, unlike Leland and other believers in the exceptional nature of American athletics, they were optimistic that Japanese students, if properly motivated and instructed, would excel in Western team sports. Toward this end Strange wrote a special handbook in 1883, entitled *Outdoor Games*, "to induce Japanese schoolboys to take more physical exercise." Among the activities discussed, Strange devoted the most attention to baseball, which he described as "the national game of the American people" and a sport requiring "mental ability" and "manly qualities."[32] Despite his enthusiasm, the initial campus response was less than overwhelming. Whereas isolated student groups in Tokyo, Sapporo, and Kumamoto showed some interest, baseball was generally regarded throughout the 1880s as a novelty to be played along with capture-the-flag on university field days.

The rise of baseball as a serious intercollegiate sport did not occur until the end of the century, long after America's baseball missionaries had left Japan. Certainly, the drive by faculty and students to establish extracurricular athletic programs gave impetus to the sport in the 1890s. At the same time, baseball, like other sports, appears to have been the beneficiary of a surge in nationalistic sentiment aroused by the campaign to revise the "unequal" treaties and to protect Japanese interests in Korea. Peculiar to the nationalism of the 1890s was the convergence of Social Darwinism and neo-traditionalism, as public spokesmen made conscious attempts to locate the values of manliness and strength in Japan's pre-Meiji past. By so doing, Western ideas and institutions could be assimilated, rather than adopted indiscriminately, thus facilitating the quest for a proud, yet discrete, national identity.[33] In a similar vein, student interest in athletics coincided with the search for a "national game" (*kokugi*) that would symbolize the collectivist ideal and fighting spirit of the nation as it prepared for war against China.[34] Although indisputably lodged in traditional culture, judo and kendo were too solitary to engender the kind of public excitement required of a "national game." Western team sports were best suited to this purpose, and baseball, in particular, seemed to emphasize precisely those values that were celebrated in the civic rituals of state: order, harmony, perseverence, and self-restraint. To focus attention, therefore, on the compatibility of the sport with Jap-

[31] Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki*, 19–23, 27–32, 35–37; and Hirose, *Nihon no yakyūshi*, 1–2. Actually, F. W. Strange was an Englishman with a heretical preference for baseball over cricket. Several Japanese were also instrumental in introducing the sport to their countrymen. Hiraoka Hiroshi, a supervisor from the Ministry of Engineering who had studied in the United States, probably organized the first Japanese baseball team, made up largely of railroad officials, in 1878. Serious team competition did not begin, however, until the sport took hold on college campuses.

[32] Strange, *Outdoor Games*, i–iii.

[33] Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan* (Stanford, 1969), 167–68. For more on the problem of reconciling traditional values with the demands for a strong national state, see Marius Jansen, "Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization," in Jansen, ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization* (Princeton, 1965), esp. 74–75.

[34] Imamura, *Nihon taiiku no kenkyū*, 792–93.

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anese sensibilities, proponents compared the skilled batter to samurai swordsmen and embellished descriptions of the game with poetic allusions to medieval warrior epics. Despite foreign provenance, baseball reputedly nourished traditional virtues of loyalty, honor, and courage and therefore symbolized the "new *bushidō*" spirit of the age.[35] For, unlike the mindless tackling and punching that were sanctioned in American contact sports, baseball struck a harmonious balance between physical strength and mental agility. The resulting demand for concentration and finesse harkened to the cultivated martial ideals of the samurai gentleman. Thus, at the end of the century, while Americans in Yokohama played baseball to be more American, Japanese students, especially in the higher schools, turned to baseball in an effort to reify traditional values and to establish a new basis for national pride. An international confrontation on the diamond had become unavoidable.

OF THE TEN SCHOOLS TO DEVELOP reputable teams in the 1890s, the club representing the First Higher School (Ichikō) of Tokyo quickly emerged as the most formidable. Since Ichikō was one of five elite preparatory schools for the national university, the students who attended were especially sensitive about maintaining an outstanding public reputation, and their concern in this regard applied as much to the athletic field as it did to the classroom.[36] The strength of the team was initially demonstrated in a series of victories in the fall of 1890 and the spring of 1891. Thereafter, the team compiled a near perfect record in intercollegiate competition until 1904, when Keiō and Waseda Universities became the chief contenders for the national championship.[37] Still, for nearly fifteen years, the First Higher School held the center of attention in Japanese baseball, and for a while even their strongest rivals seemed resigned to accept the players' immodest protestation that "there are no [worthy] opponents in the land" (*tenka teki nashi*).[38]

[35] Nakauma Kō, "Bēsubōru no junbi," *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōyūkai zasshi*, no. 10 (1891): 37–38; "Bēsubōru buhō," *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōyūkai zasshi*, no. 58 (1896): 59–60; and Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki*, 94–95.

[36] Students attended the higher schools for three years, usually between the ages of 17 and 20, during which time they were exposed to a broad liberal arts curriculum aimed as much at building character as at academic achievement. Given the stress on character development and elite socialization, the schools functioned much like preparatory schools in the West, especially the German Gymnasium and the British public school. For more on the philosophy and social role of the Meiji higher schools, see my " 'Monasticism' and the Paradox of the Meiji Higher Schools," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 37 (1978): 413–25.

[37] The early history of Japanese baseball can be clearly divided between the "Ichikō era" of the 1890s, which is the focus of this article, and the "Keiō-Waseda era" that followed. Part of the reason why Ichikō initially dominated the world of intercollegiate baseball was that the sport developed more slowly at Keiō and Waseda. Keiō students organized a team in 1885, but they received no recognition from the school administration until 1893; Nihon Taiiku Kyōkai, ed. *Supōtsu hachijūnenshi* (Tokyo, 1958), 485. Two one-sided losses to Ichikō on June 24, 1893, and on June 22, 1895, apparently discouraged the team from mounting another serious challenge to Ichikō until 1903. Waseda, known as Tokyo Senmon Gakkō before 1902, did not even have a baseball team until 1901. Through the encouragement of one of the school's most illustrious faculty members, the Christian Socialist Abe Isoo, the team developed quickly in the early 1900s. Although Abe is often called the "father of Japanese baseball," he took little interest in the sport before coming to Waseda in 1902; Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kishukuryō, ed., *Kōryōshi* [hereafter, *Kōryōshi*] (2d ed., Tokyo, 1925), 647–49, 674–75; and Katayama Tetsu, *Abe Isoo-den* (Tokyo, 1958), 166–67.

[38] *Kōryōshi*, 647. (*Kōryōshi* is the history of the student dormitories and clubs at the First Higher School. Students began compiling this history in the 1890s, although the first published edition was not available until 1920.)

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Once convinced of their superiority among Japanese teams, the Ichikō players sent word to the Yokohama Athletic Club of their interest in an "international match" (*kokusai shiai*). The first formal challenge was made in October 1891, and it was followed by successive challenges spaced over the next five years; but the response from Yokohama was always negative.[39] Ostensibly, the reason for not giving the idea serious consideration was the ill feeling toward the higher school, which stemmed from an incident that took place on the Ichikō campus during a baseball game with an American missionary school in the spring of 1890. Midway through that contest, an American teacher from the opposing school, Reverend William Imbrie, was apprehended by several irate Ichikō students for scaling the school fence instead of entering the campus through the main gate. Exaggerated reports of how the "good reverend" was severely beaten and even "stabbed" by the attacking students sent shock waves through the foreign community in Yokohama, which immediately condemned First Higher as an "uncivilized" bastion of antiforeignism and samurai-style "barbarism." In actuality, Reverend Imbrie sustained a small cut on his left cheek from a flying stone or piece of tile.[40] To his angry assailants, this injury was justified retribution for a breech of etiquette and was probably far less severe than what would have been in store for any Japanese student who dared to intrude upon the settlement playing field.

Was the "Imbrie incident" really at the root of American hostility toward First Higher, or was it merely a *casus belli* to lend credence to claims of cultural superiority? After all, to engage the Ichikō baseball team on the athletic field was to admit that the students were, in effect, cultural equals—an admission few foreign residents in Yokohama were prepared to make in 1891, three years prior to both the Aoki-Kimberley accords and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In this spirit of discrimination, the Yokohama Athletic Club took pains to describe the Ichikō students as culturally and even physically unfit for international athletic competition. The haughtiness of the club's attitude is suggested by one student chronicler, who noted, "The foreigners in Yokohama have established an athletic field in their central park into which no Japanese may enter. There, playing by themselves, they boast of their skill in baseball. When we attempt to challenge them, they refuse, saying, 'Baseball is our national game' or 'Our bodies are twice the size of yours.' "[41] Such condescension by the Yokohama Athletic Club toward the "little Japanese" only reinforced student determination to gain the opportunity to prove themselves on the settlement playing field. In their view, the continued refusal to accept an "international match" was shocking evidence that the settlement in Yokohama clung to the illegal privileges of the "unequal" treaties. A simple game of baseball therefore began to assume the dimensions of a righteous struggle for national honor.

[39] *Kōryōshi*, 644–45, 649–51.

[40] For the reaction of the foreign community to this incident, see *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 24, 1890; and Clarence Brownell, *Tales from Tokio* (New York, 1899), 73–76. (Brownell mistakenly referred to William Imbrie as Charles Eby.) For the contrasting perspective of the Ichikō students and alumni, see *Kōryōshi*, 642–43; Moiwa Toyohei, *Ichikō tamashii monogatari* (Tokyo, 1925), 104–06; and Nagasawa Dunroku, "Inburī jiken no omoide," *Ichikō Dōsōkai kaihō*, no. 38 (1938): 24–26.

[41] "Yokohama ensei kiji," *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōyūkai zasshi furoku*, no. 58 (1896): 1; and *Kōryōshi*, 651.

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Figure 1: The Ichikō team of 1891.
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Ironically, the foreign residents in Yokohama were not alone in perpetuating the stereotype of the unmanly Japanese. A number of early Meiji intellectuals reacted to Western thought and institutions with a deep sense of cultural insecurity and a fatalistic acceptance of the "unequal" treaties. Such a view was espoused by Inoue Tetsujirō, a prominent professor of philosophy, who opposed treaty revision on the grounds that the Japanese were "greatly inferior to Westerners in intelligence, financial power, physique, and all else."[42] Any attempt, according to Inoue, to stand side by side with Europeans or Americans was a sure invitation for invidious comparisons that exposed the innate weaknesses, both physical and mental, of the Japanese. For this reason, Inoue supported the continuation of the semi-colonial settlements in Yokohama and other coastal ports as a protective guarantee against undue contact with a superior Caucasian race. Obviously, educators who shared Inoue's view would lend little encouragement to the Ichikō students' bold defiance of biological reality.

Yet the warnings from conservative educators did not deter the students from their outlandish goal to engage "the six-footed Americans" in their "national game." Finally, after five years of fruitless inquiries, the students' efforts were rewarded. With W. B. Mason, an English teacher at Ichikō and long-time resident of the settlement, acting as intermediary, a game was arranged between Ichikō and the Yokohama Athletic Club, to be held on the latter's home field on May 23, 1896. It was the first official baseball game between American and Japanese teams, and its impact reverberated far beyond the settlement playing field.[43]

[42] Inoue, as quoted in Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan,* 110.

[43] Yokohama Shiyakusho, *Yokohama shikō: Fuzokuhen* (Yokohama, 1938), 648; and Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki,* 85.

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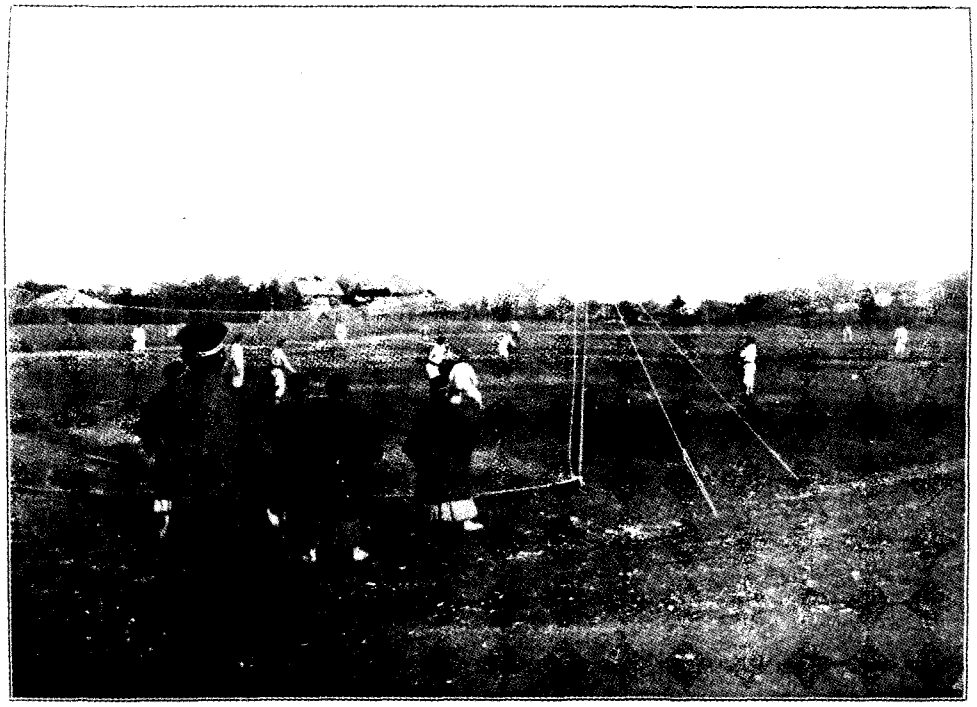


Figure 2: Baseball practice at Ichikō in the 1890s.
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WITH ONLY FOUR DAYS' NOTICE from the Yokohama Athletic Club, the Ichikō players had little time to practice for their historic confrontation. Lack of preparation did not worry them, for they believed that, even if the Americans had an advantage in "form" (*keitai*), the Japanese athletes had the "spirit" (*shinki*) to win. The power of the spiritual over the physical did not apply to the weather, however, which was so miserable on May 20 and 21 that the students decided to send a telegram to Yokohama to inquire whether the field would be playable. A curt reply—interpreted to mean "Are you trying to flee from us?"—was all the students needed to prepare for their departure, rain or shine.[44] After leaving a written "testament" (*isho*) vowing to fight to the bitter end, the team, along with a band of faithful rooters, boarded a morning train on May 23 for their rendezvous with the Yokohama Athletic Club. At the insistence of the headmaster who wished to erase the stigma of primitivism that had haunted the students since the Imbrie incident, the players traveled in spotless school uniforms with tall white collars and polished shoes, carrying their new baseball uniforms in small satchels.[45]

Even though the Ichikō players were intent upon behaving like gentlemen, their American hosts revealed little inclination to reciprocate. Unable to accept the sight of young Japanese using a field that had always been restricted to Westerners, many spectators greeted the Ichikō students with jeers and howls

[44] Transmitted in cryptic Japanese, the telegram was susceptible to misunderstanding. Mirroring the tensions of the day, the students jumped to the conclusion that the message was insulting, although, after reflection, they conceded that it might also be a benign inquiry about their schedule; Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki*, 73.

[45] Kimijima Ichirō, *Daryō ichiban shitsu* (Tokyo, 1967), 147–48.

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when they entered the park for the pregame warm-ups. Somewhat shaken by the uncivil welcome, the Ichikō players had their difficulties during practice, dropping easy pop-ups and stumbling over the bases. For the unruly spectators, the initial ineptitude of the visitors made them even more of a target for taunts and sneers. "Are they players?" one man shouted each time a student slipped on the wet field.[46]

The jeering quickly dissipated once the game got under way. Except for the first inning, the Ichikō players completely dominated the contest, delivering the Yokohama Athletic Club an embarrassing defeat, 29–4. The same spectators who had been bellowing catcalls from the stands were now left in stunned disbelief as the Japanese students marched off the field to the rickshaws, drawn by their rooters, that carried them triumphantly down the main street of Yokohama to the train station. Never in the forty-year history of the treaty ports had resident sportsmen been so utterly humiliated on the playing field. In a terse statement that belied a deeper sense of wounded pride, the *Japan Weekly Mail* reported, "The baseball team of the Athletic Club was badly beaten on Saturday by nine from the Tokyo Higher School, being outmaneuvered at all points of the game."[47] While gloom pervaded Yokohama, Ichikō athletes returned home to a rousing welcome marked by *banzai* chants, choruses from the national anthem, and overflowing cups of *sake*. Underlying the ecstasy of the moment was the awareness that the victory had transcended the playing field. As the student president proclaimed, "This great victory is more than a victory for our school; it is a victory for the Japanese people!" The captain of the team concurred, explaining how he and his comrades had realized that "the name of the country" (*kokumei*) was at stake in their competition.[48] Since the game was covered in many newspapers around the country, the Ichikō students were suddenly national heroes.

The broader implications of the game apparently did not escape the defeated Americans. Members of the Yokohama Athletic Club had waited five years before accepting the original Ichikō challenge, but it took only two or three days for them to decide on a rematch. Again, the place was Yokohama and the date was June 5, 1896. For this game, the slightly shaken athletic club recruited additional players from the crews of two American cruisers, the *Charleston* and the *Detroit*, conveniently moored in Yokohama harbor. Nonetheless, even with reinforcements from the United States Navy, the Americans fared no better in meeting the Ichikō challenge. The game ended in another rout, with the visitors winning 32–9.[49]

Highlighting the contest on June 5 was an unprecedented outpouring of public support for the student athletes. After receiving hundreds of telegrams from well-wishers in primary and secondary schools across the land, the Ichikō team was greeted in Yokohama by a boisterously enthusiastic crowd of native citizens,

[46] "Itsuwa," *Dai Ichi Kôtô Gakkô Kôyûkai zasshi furoku*, no. 58 (1896): 15; and *Kôryôshi*, 652.
[47] *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 30, 1896.
[48] "Yokohama ensei kiji," 4; and "Itsuwa," 18.
[49] *Kôryôshi*, 655.

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who lined the street that led from the station to the baseball park.[50] Although the crowd was denied entrance to the spectator stands, many waited outside shouting words of encouragement while the game was in progress. The enthusiasm of local citizens was shared by the national press, led by the *Asahi Newspaper*, which gave the second game front-page coverage under the headline, "A Great Victory for Our Students." In celebrating this achievement the paper claimed that "the superiority [of the Japanese team] is now self-evident" ("yūretsu mizukara hanzuru tokoro ari").[51] Similarly stirred, the newspaper *Jiji shinpō* reported that the Ichikō players made the Americans look "unspeakably clumsy."[52]

While basking in the public's affection, the Ichikō students were not happy with the response to their victory in the foreign settlement. At the conclusion of the second game, after receiving perfunctory congratulations from their opponents, the students were brusquely ushered off the playing field as if their continued presence might violate its sanctity. Interpreting this rude behavior as a desperate attempt to reassert the privileges of extraterritorial status, they grudgingly acquiesced, not out of respect to their hosts, but, as they explained, because "the foreigner's private property" could have "contaminated our feet." "So we were willing to leave—after spitting three times."[53] Even more upsetting to the students was the unfavorable coverage of the second game in the foreign press. English newspapers in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki registered strong protests against the "uncivilized" manners of Ichikō rooters, who were accused of hurling obscenities at the American players. (Any rowdiness at the game, First Higher School spokesmen countered, took place among the "unlearned vagrants" who stood outside the gates while the students who accompanied the team inside behaved like gentlemen.[54]) Foreign newspapers also belittled the significance of Ichikō's victories by noting, "School-boys with their daily opportunities for practice, their constant matches, and *sparer figures* have always the advantage over a team of grown men . . . who have not played together before and besides are never in practice even in the best of times."[55] For nearly five years the athletes in Yokohama had been rejecting the higher school challenge on the grounds that the students did not measure up to the Americans in physical stature and stamina. Now, rather suddenly, the tables were turned and the students' "sparer figures" were seen as an unfair advantage. The claim that businessmen were somehow deprived of the time they needed for practice was

[50] *Ibid.*, 654–55; "Yokohama ensei kiji," 7; and Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki*, 87.

[51] *Asahi shinbun*, June 7, 1896.

[52] *Jiji shinpō*, June 6, 1896.

[53] "Yohai kaette sanda shite motte saru ni yabusaka narazaru"; "Itsuwa," 19. For a contrasting perspective that suggests, without citation, that the two teams met over tea and cake at the conclusion of the game, see Ikei Masaru, *Hakkyū Taiheiyō o wataru* (Tokyo, 1976), 43. According to Ichikō sources, the team received a large amount of candy from local Japanese officials in Yokohama, which they shared with other students at a post-game victory celebration on the campus of the Yokohama School of Commerce (*Yokohama Shōgyō Gakkō*), located in the Japanese quarter of the city; *Kōryōshi*, 654, 656. All accounts, including Ikei's, agree that there was a residue of bitterness after the second game manifested especially in the foreign press; Ikei, *Hakkyū Taiheiyō o wataru*, 43; *Kōryōshi*, 655–56; and Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki*, 87–88.

[54] *Kōryōshi*, 655–56.

[55] *Japan Weekly Mail*, June 13, 1896.

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明治廿九年六月五日試合

我　　校

Seat	Names / Innings		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Sum
S.S.	Ihara	井原	O	XI		O	S	XI		O	XI	3
III.B.	Murata	村田	XF	XII		O		OXF		XI	O	3
I.B.	Miyaguchi	宮口	X	XIII		XI		O	O	O	O	4
L.F.	Tominaga	宮永	O		O	XI		O	O	XII	O	5
P.	Aoi	青井	O		O		XI	O	XII	XI	XII	3
C.	Fujino	藤野	XL		XII		X	XI	O	S	O	2
II.B.	Inoue	井上		O	XII		O	O	XI		OXI	4
R.F.	Kamimura	上村		O	XII		O	O	O		O	5
C.F.	Moriwaki	森脇		O		XI	XIII	O	XII		O	3
	Total		3	3	2	2	2	7	4	2	7	32

横濱連合軍

Seat	Names / Innings	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Sum
III.B.	Ellis	XII		X		O		XI	S	XIII	1
L.F.	Chipman	XI		XF		S		XII	S	XIII	0
C.F.	Abel	S			XI	X		S	XF	S	0
C.	Golden	X			XI		O	XIII		O	2
II.B.	Douglas		XF		XI		XI	S		O	1
P.	Callen		XI			O	XII	S		O	2
R.F.	Whitny		XL			XI	SI		O	XIII	1
S.S.	Tilden			S		O	XF		XII	O	2
I.B.	Casery			X		XII	S		XII	S	0
	Total	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	4	9

Figures 3a and 3b: Scorecards of the game of June 5, 1896.

Figure 3a: Photograph by the author of the scorecard as it appeared in the Ichikō student magazine.

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勝負表（Table）

明治29年6月5日

第一高等学校 対 横浜外人

2回戦

（高橋雄太郎編 明治29年7月18日発行 「ベースボール術」による）

Seat	Innings / Names	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Sum
SS	井原	○	×		○	S	×		○	×	3
3B	村田	×	×		○		α		×	○	3
1B	宮口	×	×		×		○	○	○	○	4
LF	富永	○		○	×		○	○	×	○	5
P	青井	○		○		×	○	×	×		3
C	藤野	×		×		×	×	○	S	○	2
2B	井上		○	×		○	○	×		α	4
RF	上村		○	×		○	○	○		○	5
CF	森脇		○		×	×	○	×		○	3
	Total	3	3	2	2	2	7	4	2	7	32

Seat	Innings / Names	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Sum
3B	Fllis	×		×		○		×	S	×	1
LF	Chipmeo	×		×		S		×	S	×	0
CF	Abel	S			×	×		S	×	S	0
C	Golden	×			×		○	×		○	2
2B	Douglas		×		×		×	S		○	1
P	Callen		×			○	×	S		○	2
RF	Wittny		×			×	S		○	×	1
SS	Tilden			S		○	×		×	○	2
1B	Casery			×		×	S		×	S	0
	Total	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	4	9

符号説明
S 三人のOut生じ打方よりFieldingに代らんとする際ベースにありたる走者をStandingと云い、Sを以て其記号とす、之れは計算に入れざるものなり
× Out の記号其右肩に１２３Ｆ又Ｈと記すべしこれは1B 2B 3B Fl HBのOutなり（×¹ ×² ×³ ×ᶠ ×ᴴ）
○ HB（Home base）に帰りたる記号

Figure 3b: The official Japanese scorecard for June 5, 1896.
Photograph reproduced courtesy of Kōdansha publishers.

equally unconvincing. The working day in the settlement rarely exceeded four hours.[56]

In the heated aftermath of the second international game, both sides were eager for a rematch, only this time the Ichikō stalwarts insisted that the contest take place on their home field. From Yokohama, a team made up exclusively of sailors from the cruiser *Detroit*, who apparently felt they were better off without the assistance of the athletic club and with the full prestige of the United States Navy at stake, accepted the challenge. On the afternoon of June 27, the team of sailors marched proudly through the gates of the First Higher School, followed by a naval band that, presumably, filled the air with "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean." As the Americans entered the campus, they were undoubtedly surprised to discover that a throng of nearly ten thousand had already squeezed around the playing field. Indeed, every inch of standing room had been occupied since the middle of the morning, forcing police to turn away some of the

[56] According to Brownell, the working day began at ten in the morning and ended at three in the afternoon with "at least one and a half hours . . . spent at the United Club or in the Grand or Club Hotels" for lunch; *Tales from Tokio*, 96.

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overflow crowd. In addition to the thousands of Tokyo citizens, a select group of one hundred dignitaries, including representatives from the American legation and the Japanese government, sat comfortably behind home plate under a pavilion especially constructed for the occasion. As the band played and the crowd roared and reporters, both foreign and Japanese, scribbled madly, Ichikō romped over its visiting opponents by a score of 22–6. To avert a repetition of the acrimony that had followed the previous match, the Ichikō administration invited all American guests and players to a postgame reception in the teachers' lounge. No sooner had crackers and tea been served than the sailors, who Ichikō observers described as "smittened with humiliation," floated the idea of yet another rematch for July 4 in Yokohama. After considerable urging, the Ichikō team accepted.[57]

In the wake of Ichikō's third overwhelming victory, baseball players in the settlement came under enormous pressure to redeem their athletic reputations. The situation was especially tense since the next contest with the "higher school nine" was scheduled for the Fourth of July, and the specter of another humiliating defeat on Independence Day was unconscionable. Hence, every effort was made to field an "all star team" drawn from the combined ranks of the Yokohama Athletic Club and the United States Navy. Fortunately, the potential pool was greatly augmented by the arrival in Yokohama harbor of the flagship of the Pacific fleet, the battleship *Olympia*, whose crew members were noted for their prowess in baseball. Five sailors from the *Olympia* were recruited for the Independence Day game, including one who had played shortstop professionally before entering the navy.[58]

The irony of playing a team of Americans in their national game on Independence Day was not fully appreciated by the Ichikō students, who were quite amazed when they arrived in Yokohama on the morning of July 4 to see all of the American men-of-war in the harbor festooned with flags and blasting out twenty-one gun salutes. Whether by design or not, the reverberations of the canon-fire had a slightly unsettling effect on the students, who had just completed final examinations and were not in the best psychological condition for the game. As it turned out, the American team was able to take full advantage of the situation, eking out a 14–12 victory before a much-relieved crowd of holiday spectators. At the conclusion of the game, the American team, heeding the code of good sportsmanship, gave their Japanese opponents a rousing "Hip, Hip, Hourray!" The cheers were given "in good earnest," according to the reporter for the *Japan Weekly Mail*, for it was difficult to deny that the Japanese nine, even in defeat, had "played a neater and better game in the field than did their opponents."[59] Perhaps the ultimate tribute to the Ichikō stalwarts was a letter received during the same summer from Yale University, inviting the team to join an intercollegiate tournament on the East Coast.[60] Lack of funds pre-

[57] *Jiji shinpō*, June 30, 1896; *Kōryōshi*, 656–67; and Ikei, *Hakkyū Taiheiyō o wataru*, 43–44.
[58] *Kōryōshi*, 657–58.
[59] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 11, 1896. For more on the festive atmosphere that surrounded the game, see Mabel Loomis Todd, *Corona and Coronet* (New York, 1898), 179–80.
[60] *Kōryōshi*, 660.

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vented acceptance, but the First Higher School players were gratified, nonetheless, to hear that news of their achievement had crossed the Pacific.

From 1897 to 1904, there were nine more games between the Ichikō Baseball Club and American teams in Yokohama. Of these, Ichikō emerged victorious in eight contests, losing only one 6–5 "squeaker." Among the victories was a 4–0 shut-out ("skunk game") against the Yokohama Athletic Club and two impressive wins (34–1, 27–0) over a team of sailors from the giant battleship *Kentucky*, which replaced the *Olympia* in the early 1900s as the flagship of the Pacific fleet. Over the entire twelve-game series, Ichikō scored 230 runs to only 64 for the American teams—a statistic that raised the question of whose "national game" baseball really was.[61]

SINCE SPORT HAS VIRTUALLY ESCAPED the eye of professional historians in Japan, the task of rescuing the early history of Japanese baseball from oblivion has been left to sportswriters, university alumni, and private athletic associations.[62] Inevitably, the year books and popular histories that have been written by these groups devote a page or two to the Ichikō Baseball Club and its "heroic" encounters with the Yokohama Athletic Club; but always the significance of the series is limited to its impact upon the development of baseball in Japan. In this truncated view, the Ichikō-Yokohama series is considered important for capturing wide public interest, hastening the introduction of new fielding and batting techniques, and paving the way for baseball to become Japan's most popular spectator sport after World War I. To be sure, the last of these achievements is no small distinction given the conspicuous lack of interest that baseball has generated outside North America, the West Indies, the Philippines, and Taiwan.

Still, the disposition to view the rise of Japanese baseball in the 1890s only in terms of the later development of the sport is both simplistic and somewhat misleading. When First Higher School students took to the playing fields, they showed little interest in securing the fate of baseball in Japan or even in introducing the sport to their less privileged contemporaries. What excited them instead was the possibility that excellence in America's "national game," demonstrated in competition with American teams, would compel Westerners to reconsider fictitious stereotypes about the unmanly Japanese. Baseball was, in this sense, an instrument for the rectification of the national image. The intensity of feeling over this issue is suggested in one of the yearly reports of the Ichikō Baseball Club submitted in the immediate aftermath of the first international games in 1896. "The Americans are proud of baseball as their national game just as we have been proud of judo and kendo," the student chronicler noted. "Now, however, in a place far removed from their native land, they have fought against a

[61] The number of runs is derived from the individual accounts of each game; see *ibid.*, 651–79. The score for one game, that between Ichikō and the crew of the battleship *Yorktown* on June 8, 1897, does not appear in *Kōryōshi*; for that score, see "Waga gun daini beigun to tatakau," *Undōkai*, no. 2 (1897): 5.

[62] In addition to the works by Kimijima Ichirō and Hirose Kenzō, the "popular histories" include Ōbunsha, ed., *Yakyū taikan* (Tokyo, 1949); Nihon Taiiku Kyōkai, ed., *Supōtsu hachijūnenshi* (Tokyo, 1958); Nihon Fuzokushi Gakkai, *Supōtsu to goraku*, in *Kindai Nihon fuzokushi*, 6 (Tokyo, 1968); and Kubota Takayuki, *Kōkō yakyū hyakunen* (Tokyo, 1976). For one notable exception, see Ikei, *Hakkyū Taiheiyō o wataru.*

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'little people' whom they ridicule as childish, only to find themselves swept away like falling leaves. No words can describe their disgraceful conduct. The aggressive character of our national spirit is a well-established fact, demonstrated first in the Sino-Japanese War and now by our great victories in baseball."[63]

Accepting the Social Darwinist formula that a civilization is defined by its "aggressive character" (*tekigaishin*), the Ichikō students regarded their victories on the playing field in Yokohama as a great service to the nation, ranking in importance with the military victories on the battlefields in the Korean peninsula. The bold analogy bore a striking resemblance to the Duke of Wellington's supposed adage, with which the students were quite familiar, that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.[64] Be this as it may, the immediate inspiration for correlating baseball with national destiny was the outpouring of public gratitude that swelled with each victory over the Americans. Typical of the letters that flooded the administration office in June 1896 was one from Yokoyama Tokujirō, an elementary school principal in Gifu, who declared the Ichikō triumph "an augury [*zenchō*] of our nation's victory over the entire world."[65] No less carried away were the service workers and other elements of the *Lumpenproletariat* attached to the settlement. Each time the Ichikō team played in Yokohama, hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of these uprooted citizens congregated outside the ball park, waiting patiently for word of the results. Upon hearing the news that Ichikō had won, the bystanders, according to student accounts, would "jump for joy" as if their livelihood depended upon the outcome. In reacting to this social phenomenon, the students imagined they were fighting for the emancipation of their downtrodden countrymen who were "suppressed by the foreigner's monetary power."[66]

Given the degradation of Japanese workers in the settlement and the tense international environment in which the games were played, it is not surprising that the Ichikō students assumed the role of "combatants" (*senshi*) in the struggle for national dignity or that they resorted to bellicose language in describing their athletic exploits. Although the negotiations between the Western powers and Japan to abrogate the "unequal" treaties were well under way when the international series commenced in the spring of 1896, the students believed that the humiliating legacy of the settlements could never be erased without some form of retribution. Baseball was ideally suited for this task. Winning a game against a proud foreign team produced all of the glory of a military victory with few of the risks. In a more positive vein, the Ichikō team took special satisfaction in witnessing a gradual improvement in the attitude of their American opponents, who were increasingly willing to shake hands and utter half-hearted cheers as the series progressed. Such displays of respect, they reasoned, could never have been elicited without first beating the foreigners in their own

[63] *Kōryōshi*, 649.

[64] See, for example, Katayama Yoshikatsu, "Undōka o kōgū suru michi," *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōyūkai zasshi*, no. 92 (1899): 9–12.

[65] "Yokohama ensei kiji," 6.

[66] "Itsuwa," 17–18.

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game and even suggested that the day was coming when American and Japanese teams could play without cultural bias.

Thus, baseball was heralded for both accelerating Japan's rise to equal status among the world powers and serving as a possible tool for what student leaders at Ichikō once called "the preservation of diplomatic stability" (*gaikō shusei*) across the Pacific.[67] This idea of using the athletic field to sublimate hostilities that might otherwise be acted out on the battlefield was echoed by a number of Americans in Japan, including W. B. Mason, who was deeply committed to the notion of exchanging baseball teams in an effort to bridge the Pacific. Mason's dream was finally realized in the decade following the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), when teams from Waseda and Keiō Universities visited America and Wisconsin, Washington, Chicago, and Stanford sent teams to Japan. Whether or not such exchanges could ever have taken place without the initiative taken by the Ichikō players in the 1890s is doubtful. Perhaps with this in mind, Lindsay Russell, president of the Japan Society in 1914, singled out the Ichikō-Yokohama series as one of the "landmarks" in inter-Pacific relations.[68]

BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, student athletes in Japan were expounding the Victorian ideology of manliness and duty with the same determination as their counterparts in the West.[69] Like the Tom Brown and Dink Stover generations, they paid homage to the "fighting life" (*sentōteki seikatsu*) or the "strenuous life" (*funtō seikatsu*) as a necessary penance to be borne by a young elite in its mission to inspire the nation and to defend against the softening influences of "materialistic civilization" (*busshitsuteki bunmei*).[70] Nor was it uncommon for them to speak of the "sacredness of games" (*gēmu no shinsei*) in expressing a self-abnegating devotion to school and nation. "The three years spent as a member of the Ichikō Baseball Club are years of total sacrifice," exclaimed a young sportsman in 1906. "Ah, sacrifice!" he continued, "Is this not the virtue that holds our society and nation together?"[71] Amateur sportsmen in the West would have undoubtedly agreed. The value of baseball, as H. Addington Bruce put it in 1913, was that it nurtured "courage," "self-control," and "social solidarity," all of which were "requisite . . . in the life of an individual and a nation."[72]

While the crack of the bat sounded a common ideological theme across the

[67] *Kōryōshi*, 656.

[68] Russell, ed., *America to Japan* (New York, 1915), 304. Russell mistakenly referred to 1898 as the date for "the initial game of baseball played between a Japanese (the First High School team) and an American nine won by the former."

[69] It would be erroneous to infer that all students, even during the 1890s, were rabid about sports. In most of the higher schools, there were small groups of "philosophic youth" (*tetsugaku seinen*) or "anguished youth" (*hanmon seinen*) whose preoccupation with romantic love and the riddles of existence set them distinctly apart from campus sportsmen. Not until the early 1900s, however, were their numbers significant enough to cause serious tensions within the student community. I discuss the configurations of student culture in my forthcoming book, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite*.

[70] "Dai ichi gakki zenryō sawakai kiji," *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōyūkai zasshi*, no. 151 (1905): 95; and Kimijima, *Daryō ichibanshitsu*, 62.

[71] "Dai san gakki zenryō sawakai kiji," *Dai Ichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōyūkai zasshi*, no. 158 (1906): 121–22.

[72] Bruce, "Baseball and the National Life," *Outlook*, 104 (1913): 105.

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Pacific, was the movement of the United States and Japan toward a shared, bilateral culture of home runs and stolen bases in the clear interest of friendly relations between the two nations? Perhaps. But the legacy of the Ichikō-Yokohama series compels approaching the question cautiously, with an awareness of the ambiguities and inconsistencies of both American and Japanese participants that defy easy generalization. Although the two sides partook of the same culture of athleticism and manliness, that culture was inherently aggressive and, therefore, virtually impossible to "share" in an atmosphere of amity and mutual respect. Cosmopolitan Social Darwinism is a contradiction in terms.

From the perspective of Americans who were familiar with Japan, there was always a tension between the goal of encouraging the spread of baseball abroad and maintaining exclusive mastery over a sport that, in the words of Albert Spalding, only "American manhood" could provide the "brain and brawn" to play *par excellence*.[73] Within limits, of course, it could be gratifying to see, as Fred Merrifield put it, "little brown people" running the bases;[74] such a sight made Japan seem less strange and inscrutable to the American visitor. Yet it was also extremely unsettling to see the same "little brown people" humiliating the crews from the flagships of the Pacific fleet, men-of-war that were, to borrow naval historian William Braisted's phrase, "the embodiment of the wealth and pretensions" of U.S. foreign policy in the Far East.[75]

The ambiguous attitude had its parallel in world politics, as exemplified in the pronouncements of Theodore Roosevelt, who could, at one moment, cheer the Japanese for "playing our game" in the confrontation with Russia, only to admonish them five months later on the evils of "get[ting] the big head."[76] In other words, the Japanese were admired for their revitalization of the fighting spirit at the end of the century and for their refusal to be lumped with the Chinese, who, according to Roosevelt, were "content to rot by inches in ignoble ease."[77] If, however, the Japanese became overly proficient in "our game," whether on the battlefield or the baseball diamond, the hue and cry was heard that "they" were not playing by "our" rules, that they were using their "sparer figures" to undue advantage, that they were guilty of hitting and pitching "samurai style." Then, as now, cultural relativism supplied the last line of defense for ensuring the national integrity of the sport.[78]

Vacillation between seemingly irreconcilable goals characterized the attitudes of student athletes in Japan as well. The Ichikō players spoke in one breath about retribution for past injustices and, in another, about using baseball to forge harmonious relations between the two countries. They were also torn between playing baseball to project the image of the cosmopolitan, man of the world and playing to revive the stoic virtues of the feudal warrior. The con-

[73] Spalding, *Baseball: America's National Game*, 5.

[74] Merrifield, "University Athletics in Japan," *University of Chicago Magazine*, 2 (1909–10): 105.

[75] Braisted, *The United States Navy in the Pacific, 1897–1909* (Austin, 1958), 3.

[76] Roosevelt, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 4: *The Square Deal*, ed. Elting E. Morison (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 724, 830.

[77] Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life*, 7.

[78] For a recent example of a cultural relativist approach to contemporary Japanese baseball, see Robert Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: Baseball Samurai Style* (New York, 1977).

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fusion extended to basic nomenclature: some students used the Anglicized term "bēsubōru" while the majority insisted upon identifying the sport with a combination of Chinese characters (*ya-kyū*) that were selected by one of the first captains of the team.[79] Hence, it was as difficult for Japanese students to admit that they were playing baseball "just like the Americans" as it was for the Americans to admit that the Japanese were playing "just like us."

If the Ichikō-Yokohama series did not contribute immediately to harmony and good will across the Pacific, it most certainly did contribute to the interrelated quest for national dignity and social status among student athletes. By overwhelming the Americans in their "national game," the students aroused considerable patriotic ferment and pride in the 1890s that extended down to the lowliest denizens of the treaty ports. While they dedicated their victories quite magnanimously to the nation, the Ichikō players were also helping themselves. In an era when the athletic field was the exclusive preserve of amateurs, baseball in Meiji Japan, like campus sport in Victorian England and America, was the "pivotal link" between nationalism and social status.[80] Before higher school and university students were equipped with bats and balls, they had little opportunity to establish their credibility as a hard-working and public-spirited elite. As privileged students, they were largely absolved of responsibilities to serve in the military, to participate in community-assistance programs, or to add anything to the productive capacity of the economy. Uprooted from their homes and vulnerable to the hedonistic and socially leveling pleasures of the city, the students needed athletics to overcome any perception of indolence in the public mind. Through baseball, they demonstrated both that the battle for national dignity could be won on the playing field and that an academic elite could be imbued with the fighting spirit expected of future leaders of the land. Whether in the form of laudatory press coverage or of impoverished citizens "jumping for joy" on the streets of Yokohama, the more praise the students received for their achievements on the diamond, the greater was the social distance between the players and their adulators. Therefore, when examining the lyrics of Ichikō's "Baseball Club Rouser" (*Yakyūbuka*), written in 1905 in commemoration of the Yokohama series,[81] one senses a distinct overlapping of national pride with self-interest:

I

Among literary and martial arts pursued
In the righteous air of the First Higher School
Baseball stands especially high
With its spirit of honor that refuses to die.

II

The crack of the bat echoes to the sky
On cold March mornings when we chase balls on the ice

[79] Kimijima, *Nihon yakyū sōseki*, 71.

[80] J. A. Mangan, "Play Up and Play the Game: Victorian and Edwardian Public School Vocabularies of Motive," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 23 (1975): 324–35.

[81] Genkōsha, ed., *Ryōka wa ikiteiru* (Tokyo, 1963), 76.

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Year in and year out, through wind and rain
Enduring all hardship, we practice our game.

III

While the years have seen many a foe
Come to our schoolyard where strong winds blow
Upon touching the sleeves of our armoured knights
We turn them away, speechless with fright.

IV

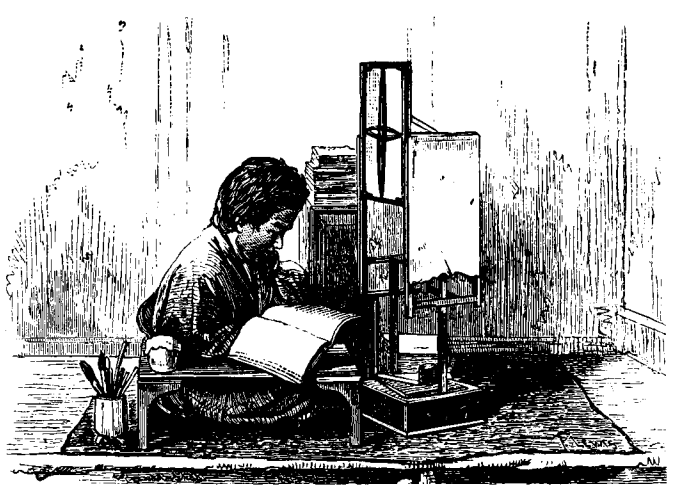
The valorous sailors from the *Detroit*, *Kentucky*, and *Yorktown*
Whose furious batting can intimidate a cyclone
Threw off their helmets, their energies depleted
Behold how pathetically they run away defeated.

V

Courageously, we marched twenty miles south
To fight the Americans in Yokohama
Though they boast of the game as their national sport
Behold the games they have left with no score.

VI

Ah, for the glory of our Baseball Club!
Ah, for the glitter it has cast!
Pray that our martial valor never turns submissive
And that our honor will always shine far across the Pacific.



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Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian

EARL H. KINMONTH

IN EARLY 1868, shortly after toppling the Tokugawa house, the leaders of the new Meiji government issued a proclamation known as the "Charter Oath." "The common people, no less than the civil and military officials," it declared, "shall be allowed to pursue [their] own calling[s] so that there shall be no discontent."[1] This statement implied that the new government was dedicated to dismantling the social structure of the previous regime, a structure based largely on hereditary succession. That regime had been bolstered by legal restraints on social mobility and supported by ideologues who advised that, since wealth and honor were determined only by heaven, the individual ought not to seek to alter his status.[2] Despite its implied commitment to reform, the new Meiji government maintained the restrictions on personal activities, especially as they applied to members of the samurai class, with little change. Samurai continued to receive their hereditary stipends and to move about, wearing the two swords that were the symbols of their membership in a hereditary ruling class. And, on all levels of society, the distribution of wealth and rank remained essentially what it had been during the last days of the Tokugawa house.

In the face of this apparent continuity, there was one early indication that Meiji Japan would not simply be Tokugawa Japan with a new set of rulers. In early 1871, members of the samurai class,[3] especially government officials and educators, were lining up—even camping out overnight—to buy copies of a work that attacked hereditary wealth and power from its very first line,

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[1] Ryusaku Tsunoda *et al.*, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2 vols. (New York, 1964), 2: 137.

[2] The theme that heaven assigns wealth and honor—rank—at birth and that they cannot be changed by human effort is found throughout Tokugawa writing. For examples that had wide circulation, see "Rikuyu engi tai-i," in *Kyōjun*, vol. 5 of *Nihon kyōkasho taikei* (Tokyo, 1969), 421; and Kaibara Ekiken, "Rakujun," in *Kaibara Ekiken*, ed. Matsuda Michio, vol. 14 of *Nihon no meicho* (Tokyo, 1969), 251, and "Yamato zokujun," in *Kaibara Ekiken*, 123.

[3] I am using "samurai" here with full knowledge that the term was not commonly used during the period under discussion, and it did not stand for a precisely definable social category. For a cogent discussion of the problems in defining the limits of the samurai class, see W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford, 1972), 22–34.

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"Heaven helps those who help themselves."[4] The book with the famous opening sentence was *Saikoku risshi hen*, a rendering by Nakamura Keiu (Masanao) of *Self-Help* by the English author, Samuel Smiles.

This initial popularity was only the beginning. Reprints of *Saikoku risshi hen* were still commercially viable as late as 1921, and new translations of *Self-Help* were produced as late as 1938.[5] Nevertheless, the works are most intimately associated with the first decades of the Meiji era. Meiji writers who had grown up with *Saikoku risshi hen* declared that its impact on early Meiji youth was "almost beyond imagination" and that it and *Seiyō hinkō ron*, Nakamura's translation of Samuel Smiles's *Character*, "had a greater influence over young men in the early [1870s] than any other book of the day."[6] Enumerating those Meiji figures who used *Saikoku risshi hen* in their own writings, praised it, or cited its influence on their lives amounts to listing the Meiji intellectual, academic, and journalistic worlds.[7] Early Meiji Japanese not only read *Saikoku risshi hen* but also attended plays based on its stories, studied it as a textbook, and were treated to a variety of imitations and derivative works.[8] Commonly and quite correctly, *Saikoku risshi hen* is described as one of the "holy books" (*seisho*) of the Meiji era.

THE FIRST STEP IN ANALYZING the popularity of *Self-Help* must be an explication of its ideas and the motivation behind them. The Anglo-American tradition of writing on personal advancement has changed radically since the mid-nineteenth century. Contemporary works on self-advancement, such as Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking* and Robert J. Ringer's *Looking Out for Number 1*, differ considerably from their Victorian counterparts. The message of Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help*, moreover, should not be confused with that of Horatio Alger in his many novels.[9] The earlier tradition of writing on self-culture contains more than one genre, each of which preaches somewhat different

[4] That the readership was largely samurai is suggested both by contemporary recollections and by the language and style of *Saikoku risshi hen*; for the latter, see pages 549–54, below. For example, Ishii Tamaji has claimed that the initial readers of *Saikoku risshi hen* were largely officials and educators, and in the early Meiji period these were primarily samurai occupations; Ishii, *Nakamura Masao den* (Tokyo, 1907), 10–11. One G. Takeda reported to Samuel Smiles that "almost all the high class of our fellow countrymen know what *Self-Help* is"; Smiles, *The Autobiography of Samuel Smiles, LL.D.*, ed. Thomas Mackay (New York, 1906), 230.

[5] For the publication history of *Saikoku risshi hen* and its derivatives, see Sangu Makoto, " 'Saikoku risshi hen' oyobi sono ruisho ni tsuite," *Gakutō*, 43 (February 1939): 20–25, (March 1939): 15–16.

[6] Yone Noguchi, "A True Founder of Empire," *Japan Times*, March 9, 1907, as reprinted in Ishii, *Nakamura Masao den*, unpaginated foldout; and Ukita Kazutami, "Educationalists of the Past and Their Share in the Modernization of Japan," in Ōkuma Shigenobu, ed., *Fifty Years of New Japan*, 2 (New York, 1910): 156.

[7] For an example of such a listing, see Mitsuhashi Takeo, *Meiji zenki shisō shi bunken* (Tokyo, 1976), 80–86.

[8] For a list of various editions of *Saikoku risshi hen* as an ethics text, see Torii Miwako, *Meiji ikō kyōkasho sōgō mokuroku-I: Shōgakkō hen* (Tokyo, 1967), 18. Concerning plays based on *Saikoku risshi hen*, see Yanagita Izumi, *Meiji shoki honyaku bungaku*, vol. 5 of his *Meiji bungaku kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1961), 169.

[9] Timothy H. E. Travers has noted these and other misinterpretations in his study of Samuel Smiles; Travers, "Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1970), 211–12. For examples of such misinterpretation in the secondary literature on Japan, see Marleigh Grayer Ryan, *Japan's First Modern Novel: Ukigumo of Futabatei Shimei* (New York, 1965), 171; and Thomas P. Rohlen, *For Harmony and Strength: Japanese White-Collar Organization in Anthropological Perspective* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), 202. Ryan has attributed to Smiles and *Self-Help* the advocacy of sycophantic behavior, opportunism, and materialism, and Rohlen has linked Smiles to Norman Vincent Peale.

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values. *Self-Help* belongs to the "character-ethic" genre,[10] in which accomplishments and advancement derive primarily from an individual's virtues: hard work, diligence, frugality, perseverance, attention to detail, and the like. The task for the individual is to develop these virtues, upon which achievement depends. Chance has no place in this ethic. As Asa Briggs, a noted scholar of Victorian England, has observed, "There [are] no fairy god mothers or fairy god fathers in Smiles assisting the thrifty hero to find money and success as there [are] in Alger's stories."[11] Smiles's character ethic is not immediately concerned with making money or with personal success.[12] In *Self-Help* Smiles defined individual accomplishment not as a publicly recognized increase in rank and wealth but as the achievement of something that advanced civilization in either its material or its cultural aspects. The character ethic has little to say about human relations, nor does it tell the individual how to cultivate a "success personality." Smiles did not suggest, as did Norman Vincent Peale, that positive thinking leads to pleasure and success.[13] The character ethic emphasizes—rather than minimizes—the difficulties, especially the hard labor, involved in any type of accomplishment.

Although ultimate responsibility lies with the individual, the character ethic does not preclude mutual aid or cooperation. Nothing demonstrates this better than the genesis of *Self-Help*, which began as a series of lectures that Smiles gave in 1845 to a mutual study group organized by young workmen in Leeds. Smiles had lived in the city for a number of years, practicing medicine and editing a Radical newspaper. When these young workmen asked him "to talk to them a bit," he responded with a series of lectures entitled "The Education of the Working Classes." During a subsequent career as a secretary for several railroad companies operating in the vicinity of Leeds, Smiles continued to lecture on the subject of self-help for the working class and to embroider those lectures with more examples. In 1857, at a low point in his railroad career, Smiles assembled his notes and pieces of his lectures into the manuscript of *Self-Help*. Initially, no publisher would accept it, and Smiles was forced to subsidize its publication.[14] His risk was well rewarded, for, beginning in 1859, *Self-Help* started on its course, and in the next thirty years more than one hundred and sixty thousand copies were sold in England alone.[15] *Self-Help* was translated into several languages, including Japanese, and in later years Smiles traveled to a number of countries (though not to Japan) where his work had been popular and received awards and acclaim. In England, W. E. Gladstone, George Eliot, and even

[10] For a comparison of the "character ethic" and later American writing focused on personality, see Richard M. Huber, *The American Idea of Success* (New York, 1971), 160–63. Note that even within the "character ethic" there is considerable variation; the explanation that appears below is most applicable to Smiles.

[11] Briggs, *Victorian People: Some Reassessments of People, Institutions, Events, and Ideas, 1851–1867* (London, 1965), 126. For Alger in the American context, see John G. Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* (Chicago, 1965), 101–20.

[12] For the difference between "success" and "achievement," see Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London, 1952), 236–37.

[13] On Peale, see Huber, *The American Idea of Success*, 316–17.

[14] Smiles, *Autobiography*, 131–34, 221–23.

[15] Travers, "Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic," 333.

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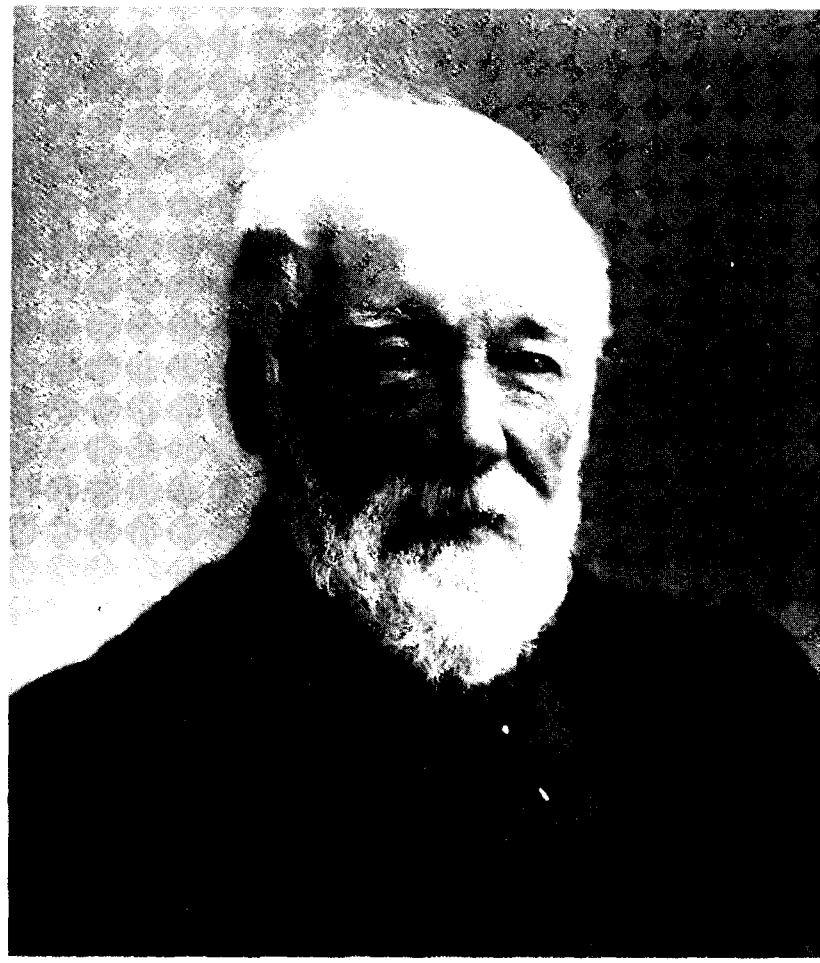


Figure 1: Samuel Smiles. Photograph taken from the frontispiece of Smiles, *The Autobiography of Samuel Smiles, LL.D.* (1906), published by E. P. Dutton.

Queen Victoria acknowledged Smiles and praised his works.[16] After *Self-Help*, Smiles wrote four other didactic works of similar style, of which three were published: *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1871), and *Duty* (1880). All three were translated into Japanese but only *Self-Help* through *Saikoku risshi hen* was so widely popular as to be counted as one of the holy books of the Meiji era.

Smiles's literary method was to illustrate his lessons with anecdotes. In *Self-Help* he mentioned nearly three hundred figures, ranging from Richard Arkwright to Francis Xavier and including Benvenuto Cellini, Humphrey Davy, Isaac Newton, Granville Sharp, and James Watt. Many names merely appeared in lists—"the common class of day laborers has given us. . . ," "shoemakers have given us. . . ," and the like. In other instances, however, Smiles devoted several pages to each model. Those to whom he gave the greatest attention were scientists, engineers, and particularly technologically innovative manufacturers. In describing such manufacturers, Smiles became most enthusiastic, styling them

[16] Smiles, *Autobiography*, 224–31.

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"Industrialized Heroes of the Civilized World."[17] As a trained though seldom practicing physician, Smiles had a personal and professional interest in science. He first achieved fame as an author with his biography of George Stephenson in 1857, beginning a series, *Lives of the Engineers*. Smiles took considerable pains with these biographies, doing substantial research, making extensive interviews, and giving attention to both technical accomplishments and personal attributes. These works still have value for scholars.[18]

Despite his veneration of technologically and scientifically creative men, Smiles did not give them extraordinary attributes, least of all genius. Instead, he claimed that "the men who have most moved the world have not been so much men of genius, strictly so called, as men of intense mediocre abilities and untiring perseverance."[19] Genius as it appeared in *Self-Help* was not raw intelligence but the ability to work diligently toward a single goal, to combine simple principles and common knowledge, and to turn them to new ends—that is, to put together what many had seen but no one had been able to use before.[20] According to Smiles, those of even mediocre ability could achieve by intense application and perseverance, although he did not deny talent entirely. He merely argued that talent without hard work and similar virtues would come to nothing.[21] Smiles did not seek to reduce invention to a series of mechanical steps carried out by methodical mediocrities. He vividly and sympathetically described one Bernard Palissy, who, consumed by his experimental quest, was reduced to smashing his last, unpawned pieces of furniture to fuel one final experiment, while his wife and neighbors stood by in shocked amazement.[22] Smiles's concept of scientific creation definitely belonged to an era before the think tank and the research institute!

Inventors and innovative industrialists embodied the virtues that Smiles admired, but he claimed that the origin of those virtues was social circumstance rather than middle-class values. Over and over again *Self-Help* documents accomplishments that were achieved only after difficulties during formative years were surmounted. Smiles denied that poverty was a misfortune and claimed instead that "it may, by vigorous self-help, be converted into a blessing," for it roused "a man to that struggle with the world in which, though some may purchase ease by degradation, the right-minded and the true-hearted find strength, confidence, and triumph."[23] A statement such as this may be interpreted as an apology for the unequal distribution of wealth. In asserting the benefits of poverty, however, Smiles framed his statements in terms of "may." He did not play down the hardships that rising from poverty entailed, nor did he portray ad-

[17] Smiles, *Self-Help, with Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance* (2d ed., London, 1876), 93. This version, published by John Murray, is a slightly later printing of the revised edition of 1867, which Nakamura used for *Saikoku risshi hen*.

[18] Interest in these biographies is indicated by their continued republication. See, for example, Samuel Smiles, *Selections from Lives of the Engineers*, ed. Thomas Parke Hughes (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).

[19] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 96–97.

[20] *Ibid.*, chap. 5: "Helps and Opportunities—Scientific Pursuits."

[21] *Ibid.*, chap. 6: "Workers in Art."

[22] *Ibid.*, 69–74.

[23] *Ibid.*, 19.

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vancement as automatic. By the same token, he was not a blind and uncritical believer in laissez faire, though he shared many of its assumptions and its vocabulary. He was particularly critical of the "let alone" philosophy that resulted in contaminated food and dirty, crime-ridden cities.[24]

While championing those of humble origins, Smiles did not celebrate uncritically all who had risen. The mere acquisition of fortune by a man born in poverty had no intrinsic value. "Riches," he declared, "are no proof whatever of moral worth; and their glitter often serves only to draw attention to the worthlessness of their possessor, as the light of the glow-worm reveals the grub." Disturbed that the original edition of *Self-Help* had been misinterpreted as a "eulogy of selfishness," Smiles reworked it in an attempt to clarify his position. "It will also be found, from the examples of literary, scientific men, artists, inventors, educators, philanthropists, missionaries, and martyrs," he wrote in the preface to this revised edition of 1867, "that the duty of helping one's self in the highest sense involves the helping of one's neighbors." To support this assertion, he extensively treated a number of social activists, including such men as Jonas Hanway and Granville Sharp.[25]

In attacking wealth, Smiles paid more attention to inherited than to first-generation fortunes. As Reinhard Bendix has aptly noted, much in Smiles's celebration of lowly origins and his condemnation of the rich supported the claims of new wealth against established power and privilege.[26] His treatment of the English peerage explicitly demonstrates this distinction. Smiles observed that the English nobility, unlike Continental aristocracies, had been enriched by new blood, by men who had moved up by "the diligent exercise of qualities in many respects of an ordinary character, but potent by force of application and industry." Men with only inherited, unearned wealth, he believed, were likely to lose their privileged positions.[27] Only those who resisted the corrupting effects of unearned wealth could expect to retain their social status.

While pressing the claims of the new, manufacturing elite against the privileges of the old, hereditary rich, Smiles defended industrialists against the claims of their social inferiors. Despite his concern for the workingman and his criticism of the wealthy, Smiles did not speak *for* a rising working-class consciousness so much as he spoke *to* such a consciousness. By attacking the immorality of the rich, by emphasizing the rise from poverty of his "industralized heroes," and by describing the qualities needed for advancement as ordinary and available to all men, Smiles made the new manufacturers into the moral leaders of the working class. The successful industrialist had arrived where he was not by special privileges or foul means but by a more diligent application of qualities that all men possess, accessible to anyone of equal diligence. When Smiles railed against "over guidance and over government," when he asserted that "the value of legislation in human advancement has usually been overestimated," and when he declared that "voting for one or two men once in three or five years . . . can exer-

[24] Briggs, *Victorian People*, 133–34.
[25] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 330, iv, 245–57.
[26] Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry* (New York, 1963), 112.
[27] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 222, 203.

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cise but little active influence upon any man's life and character," he carried his argument to social and political reform. Since those whom he styled "industrialized heroes" had had no need of an extended franchise and social welfare legislation, he opposed such measures; and his attitude reflected far more than simple admiration for the manufacturers' technical accomplishments and respect for their courage.[28]

Although a "bourgeois ideologue," Smiles cannot be dismissed merely as a defender of the new industrialists. To be properly understood, moreover, his ideas must be seen in the context of mid-Victorian social thought. When he wrote *Self-Help* in 1859, aristocratic and mercantilist ideas that put small value on work and frugality were still current.[29] Yet Smiles had a special appreciation of labor and the laboring man. "Labor," he wrote, "is not only a necessity and a duty, but a blessing: only the idler feels it to be a curse." Work was, for him, an absolute value for people of all classes and ranks. In declaring that labor was "not inconsistent with high mental culture," he gave the workingman a greater measure of recognition and respect than many of his contemporaries did. His assertion that "there is no reason why the condition of the average workman should not be a useful, honorable, respectable, and happy one" contrasted sharply with the Malthusian view that working-class poverty and degradation were inevitable, even desirable. His words seem to justify working-class discontent and the quest for a better life.[30]

WHEN THE JAPANESE EDITION of *Self-Help*, *Saikoku risshi hen*, first appeared as a runaway best-seller in 1871, neither the political issues nor the social classes to which *Self-Help* had been addressed existed in Japan. There was no industrial bourgeoisie to use the antiaristocratic rhetoric of Smiles and assert its own claims against established hereditary privilege. The issue of state aid and the extension of the franchise versus self-help as alternate means of aiding the working class had no meaning in Japan, which had no industrial labor force, no franchise, and no legislature. What, then, was the appeal of *Self-Help* and *Saikoku risshi hen*? For the translator, Nakamura Keiu, the chief attraction of *Self-Help* was Smiles's assertion, "National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy, and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness, and vice."[31] For Smiles this statement was an injunction against tampering with the free play of natural forces in the market place and an argument against state aid to the working class, but for Nakamura it was a formula for achieving national prosperity and security and world peace. Thus, *Saikoku risshi hen* provides a prime example of what can happen to the meaning of ideas in their transition from one culture to another.

In his preface to the first chapter of *Saikoku risshi hen*, Nakamura noted that he

[28] Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry*, 112; and Smiles, *Self-Help*, 1–3.
[29] Briggs, *Victorian People*, 141.
[30] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 28, 294. For earlier attitudes, see Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry*, 46–72.
[31] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 3.

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Figure 2: Nakamura Keiu. Photograph taken from *Meiji shisōka shū*, vol. 13 of *Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū* (1968) and reproduced courtesy of Kōdansha publishers.

had been asked why he did not translate a work on military affairs. Explaining that it was a mistake to believe that the strength of the West lay in military might alone, he argued that Western nations were strong because their people followed the way of heaven (*tendō*), because they had the right of autonomy (*jishu no ken*), and because they enjoyed benevolent government. As for war, no less a military figure than Napoleon, whom Smiles had cited, had declared that moral conduct (*tokkō*) was ten times more important than military might, and Smiles himself had explained that a country was weak or strong according to the character of its people. To emphasize martial virtues and military affairs would be to invite war and killing, to go against the way of heaven, which sought to have all men enjoy tranquility and happiness. The way to national strength and social benefit was, therefore, through the cultivation of peaceful virtues, respecting the will of heaven and doing good on the basis of a true heart. This was the way for the individual, the family, the nation, and the world. If men cultivated such virtues, the light of love and the wind of benevo-

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lence would spread to the four seas, and clouds of affection and the spirit of harmony would envelop the universe.[32]

These Confucian-sounding expectations that Nakamura Keiu tacked onto *Self-Help* did not just reflect the intellectual background that all educated Japanese of the period shared. Nakamura had been and, for all practical purposes, still was a Confucian scholar in the employ of the Tokugawa house. Born in 1832 into an ambitious peasant family that had purchased samurai status, Nakamura had early shown intellectual brilliance. At the age of ten he won a scholarship to the Shōheikō ("School of Prosperous Peace"), the official Confucian academy of the Tokugawa operated by the Hayashi family. He studied at the Shōheikō between 1848 and 1853 and, upon graduation, served the Tokugawa in various educational posts. In 1862, at the unusually young age of twenty-nine he was appointed as a full-fledged Confucian scholar at the Shōheikō. Although educated and employed within one of the more conservative academies of the period, Nakamura had early tempered his Confucian learning with a secret study of Western works that he had hidden inside Confucian texts. When the Tokugawa policy on foreign studies changed, this surreptitiously acquired knowledge served him well. In 1866, he was chosen to go to London to study English and to chaperon younger students sent abroad by the Tokugawa government.[33]

The England that Nakamura confronted was virtually at the height of its power, and it was more than enough to overawe him. He later remarked that the Chinese text[34] he had read before leaving Japan had not prepared him to understand how such a tiny nation, let alone one ruled by a woman, could have humbled the Middle Kingdom in war. In contrast to the Chinese view of the English as fond of liquor, extravagant, and only clever with gadgets, Nakamura came to see them as exceptional. The English were ruled by a Parliament, whose members were learned; they loved heaven and revered mankind; and the workers were prudent and exercised self-restraint.[35] Less than a year after Nakamura had arrived in England, the Tokugawa regime was overthrown, and, after some debate, he and his charges decided to return to Japan. Before leaving, Nakamura sought advice on how he might transmit to the Japanese people the spirit he had discovered in England. In answer, one of his English friends, H. U. Freeland, presented Nakamura with a copy of the revised edition (1867) of *Self-*

[32] Nakamura Keiu, "Jijoron dai-ichi hen jo," in Ōkubo Toshiaki, ed., *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, vol. 3 of *Meiji bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo, 1967), 283–84. For an alternative source for this and the other prefaces, see *Meiji shisōka shū*, vol. 13 of Itō Sei *et al.*, eds., *Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo, 1968), 89–110.

[33] Biographical details for Nakamura's career are largely taken from Takahashi Masao's *Nakamura Keiu* (Tokyo, 1966). In addition, the following are useful: "Nakamura Masanao," in *Kindai bungaku sōshō*, 1 (Tokyo, 1956): 406–58; Maeda Ai, "Nakamura Keiu," *Bungaku*, 33 (October 1965): 61–71; Yanagita Izumi, *Meiji shoki no bungaku shisō-I*, vol. 4 of *Meiji bungaku kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1965), 250–61; and Jerry K. Fisher, "The Meirokusha" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974).

[34] Nakamura specifically referred to Wei Yuan's *Hai-kuo t'u-chih*, a geography written between 1844 and 1852.

[35] These comments were originally contained in an afterword appended to the first book (chapter) of *Saikoku risshi hen*; "Sho Saikoku risshi hen go," in *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, 286. In 1876, they became the preface to a revised edition of the translation; see Takahashi, *Nakamura Keiu*, 47–49.

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Help. On the way back to Japan, Nakamura—in good Confucian fashion—set out to memorize the book. Still a loyal retainer of the Tokugawa, he dutifully followed the former ruling house into exile in Shizuoka. There he returned to his profession of educator, operating the local domain school and translating *Self-Help*. The translation was a major undertaking given the brevity of his training in the English language and the difficulties of rendering the ideas of a work aimed at the British working class into terms comprehensible to Japanese, for whom many features of feudalism were more than just a memory. The first, hand-printed copies of *Saikoku risshi hen* were ready for sale early in 1871,[36] a remarkable achievement under the circumstances.

Nakamura's translation was only the first stage in what would be a long and productive career of intellectual and social endeavor. As early as 1868, Nakamura had demonstrated an interest in Christianity. In 1871, he addressed to the emperor a famous memorial on the subject, entitled "Gi taiseijin jōsho" ("Memorial on the Imitation of Westerners"). He noted that, although official Meiji policy promoted the introduction of Western forms generally, Christianity was not tolerated, let alone encouraged. Christianity was, however, the source of the spirit and essence of Western civilization, the ultimate base from which the wealth and power of Western nations derived. Attempting to adopt Western ways without adopting Christianity amounted to seeking the fruit of Western civilization without planting in Japan the tree that bore the fruit. Nakamura urged not only the toleration of Christianity but the baptism of the emperor himself—as a model for the people to follow.[37]

Although he phrased his appeal in terms of national interest, Nakamura, who was baptized as a Methodist in 1874, was attracted more by the charitable and social-welfare orientation of Christianity than by its utility in the quest for national wealth and power. As early as 1871–72, he had worked with missionaries to found a school, orphanage, and "mission home" for children of mixed parentage. In 1875, he began what proved to be a five-year campaign to establish the first modern school for the blind in Japan. Nakamura was also especially interested in the proper and equal education of women, which he regarded as essential to achieving a prosperous and peaceful society.[38] When he founded his own academy, the Dōjinsha, in 1873, he included a separate school for women. In 1879, he merged the two, symbolizing his commitment to equal education for women. He used texts that stressed equal rights for women and encouraged political activism, a striking contrast with other contemporary institutions for women that concentrated on rationalized home economics. Appointed principal

[36] For a detailed discussion of the printing and financing of *Saikoku risshi hen*, see Ōkubo Toshiaki, "Nakamura Keiu no shoki yōgaku shisō to 'Saikoku risshi hen' no yakujitsu oyobi kankō," *Shien*, 26 (January 1966): 67–92.

[37] Nakamura, "Gi taiseijin jōsho," in *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, 281–82. This appeal appeared in three languages—English, Japanese, and Chinese—both with and without the suggestion for an imperial baptism. The version cited here is in Chinese (*kanbun*) with reference to the emperor. For the background to this appeal, see Ōkubo Toshiaki, "Kaidai," in *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, 448–49; Takahashi, *Nakamura Keiu*, 98–99; Kosaka Masaaki, ed., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, trans. David Abosch (Tokyo, 1958), 117; and A. Hamish Ion, "Edward Warren Clark and Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of Cultural Contact," *Modern Asian Studies*, 11 (1977): 557–72.

[38] Nakamura, "Zenryō naru haha o tsukuru setsu," in *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, 300–02.

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of the government-financed Tokyo Women's Normal School (Tōkyō joshi shihan gakkō), he tried to make it into an institution of higher, not just vocational, education for women.[39] A founding member of the *Meirokusha* ("Meiji Six Society"), Nakamura was a prolific essayist on a number of subjects, including education for women, literature, and Chinese studies (*kangaku*). His official positions included a professorship at the Imperial University, counselor to the Council of Elders (*Genrōin*), and, shortly before his death, a peerage. Although the emphasis here must be on *Saikoku risshi hen* and the import of that work for Meiji society, it is of some interest to note that Nakamura's career resembled the philanthropic models Smiles celebrated in *Self-Help*. Yet paradoxically, Nakamura—with his commitment to charitable activities and his emphasis on peaceful progress—has largely been ignored by Japanese historians, who have instead sought a liberal Meiji tradition in Fukazawa Yukichi, known to his contemporaries for his materialism, elitism, and belligerent rhetoric derived from Social Darwinism, and whose commitment to raising the status of women was never more than rhetorical.[40]

On its title page, Nakamura styled *Saikoku risshi hen* in English a "translation of *Self-Help*."[41] By modern standards, however, it is a paraphrase, and an incomplete one at that. Nakamura frequently cut and occasionally expanded sections of *Self-Help* with the net result that *Saikoku risshi hen* is at least 20 percent shorter than a full rendering would have been. His cutting and compression is most noticeable in those chapters dealing with industrial and artistic activities. And his fullest renderings, in contrast, cover the ethical and moral portions of the text. For example, the third chapter, on potters, is 6 percent of *Self-Help* but only 4 percent of *Saikoku risshi hen*, and the thirteenth chapter, on character, is 6 percent of the original but 10 percent of the translation. Thus, *Saikoku risshi hen* is even more an ethical text than is *Self-Help*, but not absolutely. There is still more about pottery-making in *Saikoku risshi hen* than most people, other than would-be potters, would want to know. Because of the repetition in *Self-Help* and the moderate nature of the cuts, no theme disappeared entirely in its transition to *Saikoku risshi hen*.

The interest in national prosperity and social progress expressed in Nakamura's preface to *Saikoku risshi hen* is much in evidence in the text itself. Over and over again, Nakamura inserted references to national prosperity in passages

[39] For this aspect of his career, see Takahashi, *Nakamura Keiu*, 161–68.

[40] I hope to be able to report sometime on this interesting historiographical issue. Here it is sufficient to note that, for all the neglect of Nakamura by Japanese historians, he was quite highly regarded by his contemporaries, who saw his influence as comparable to or greater than that of Fukuzawa. See, for example, Kitamura Tōkoku, "Meiji bungaku kanken," in *Kitamura Tōkoku to Yamaji Aizan*, vol. 6 of *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei* (Tokyo, 1969), 135; Tokutomi Iichirō, "Kunshikoku no shin-kunshi Nakamura Keiu kō," *Kokumin no tomo*, June 23, 1891, pp. 1–6; and Abe Isoo, "Nakamura Keiu sensei," *Chūgaku sekai*, April 1, 1912, pp. 8–18. For the discrepancy between Fukuzawa's rhetoric and action with respect to women, see Carmen Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, 1964), 78–89, 157–58 n. 44.

[41] *Saikoku risshi hen* exists in numerous editions. Throughout I have used Nakamura Masanao, *Saikoku risshi hen* (Tokyo, 1888). This text is based on the original 1871 version. A portion of the original (the first three chapters) is available in modern printed form: Nakamura, "Saikoku risshi hen," in Ishikawa Ken, ed., *Nihon kyōkasho taikei*, 1 (Tokyo, 1961): 8–77. Because the pagination in the early editions is unreliable, citations here take the form "chapter (book)": arbitrary section number (a number that Nakamura gave to the subdivisions of each chapter). Corresponding material from the original work follows in parentheses, where appropriate.

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that he otherwise translated more or less literally. When Smiles declared that "the world" was indebted to those from "humbler ranks," Nakamura wrote of those who "profit the world and benefit the country." When Smiles argued that not "a single step in civilisation has been made without labour," Nakamura added "in our country." When Smiles condemned petty businessmen who thought only to profit themselves but praised those "businessmen of large . . . and comprehensive minds, capable of action on the very largest scale," Nakamura rendered the compliment as "those of a ministerial spirit who think of our country."[42] In making such changes, Nakamura altered the text more than he distorted Smiles's thought. As Timothy H. E. Travers has pointed out, Smiles was intensely interested in the prosperity of England.[43] But, whereas Smiles was content to mention the nation once at the beginning of a paragraph or chapter and thereafter to refer to society, civilization, the world, or some other transnational beneficiary, Nakamura could never let the reader forget that the country (*hōkoku*) benefited from the virtues or actions under consideration.

A potentially more serious problem for Nakamura involved the lack of Japanese equivalents for many English terms, especially those that pertained to relations between individuals and the state or between individuals and society. Nakamura's Confucian vocabulary was not well prepared to deal with such terms as "rights," "liberty," and "freedom," and at some points he resorted to parenthetical explanations and English glosses; for example, he glossed *jishu jiyū* ("autonomy" and "freedom") as "independence."[44] Nevertheless, he did not avoid introducing such concepts, even though they conflicted with both Confucian and samurai values. On the contrary, Nakamura went out of his way to translate and explain these terms, which he could just as well have left out of *Saikoku risshi hen*. Nakamura ascribed importance to what he called "the right of autonomy" (*jishu no ken*) held by the English people, and he stressed the role of Parliament in both his preface to and his afterword for *Saikoku risshi hen*.[45] These emphases were unusual; such issues did not become matters of wide intellectual debate until the so-called *Jiyū minken undō* ("Movement for Liberty and People's Rights") of the 1870s and early 1880s.

Individualism and individuality were two important concepts in *Self-Help* that were not well articulated in either the Confucian or the samurai traditions. Thus, Nakamura's translation had to be free, not literal. When Smiles quoted John Stuart Mill from *On Liberty*, for example, to the effect that despotism is never complete as long as individuality exists and that whatever stamps out individuality is despotism, regardless of the name attached, Nakamura wrote, "Whatever form of government destroys a people's self-reliance ["jiritsu"] must be called a tyrannical government ["kyakusei"]."[46] Although Nakamura seem-

[42] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 1: 25, 2: 2, 9: 1 (Smiles, *Self-Help*, 19, 27–28, 263). "Ministerial spirit" does not refer to the clergy; *daijin no seishin* is best rendered as "the spirit of a minister of state."

[43] Travers, "Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic," 144.

[44] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 1: 6.

[45] This emphasis appears in both the preface and afterword of *Saikoku risshi hen*. See Nakamura, "Jijoron dai-ichi hen jo," in *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, 283–84; and "Sho Saikoku risshi hen go," in *ibid.*, 286. In addition, he endorsed the idea of a representative assembly in a speech printed in the journal of the Meirokusha; see Nakamura, "Jinmin no seishitsu o kaizō suru setsu," in *ibid.*, 300.

[46] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 1: 4 (Smiles, *Self-Help*, 3).

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ingly limited the rather broad concept of individuality to mere self-reliance, he actually rendered Mill's meaning better than Smiles did: Smiles used this passage out of context to support his arguments against state aid to the working class. And Nakamura's translation (again really a paraphrase) of *On Liberty*, which was published in 1872 as *Jiyū no ri* ("Principle of Freedom"), shows just how interested Nakamura was in the concept of individuality.[47] Having no equivalent for the term, he used a circumlocution—"that which makes each one distinct" (*dokuji ikko naru mono*)—or equated individuality with "character" (*hinkō*), something Mill himself did. Although he abridged *On Liberty* to a much greater degree than he did *Self-Help*, Nakamura struggled to render the full range of meanings Mill attached to individuality, including "eccentricity," which became "character that is out of the ordinary, disobedient, and evil" (*kaiheki hijō no hinkō*).[48] That he sought to introduce these concepts is more significant than the difficulties he experienced. He was taken by Mill's justification of individualism in terms of national and social progress, especially Mill's explanation of European progress (in contrast to Chinese stagnation) as the consequence of the "remarkable diversity of character and culture" existing in European countries.[49] Perhaps Nakamura distorted *On Liberty* by shifting its focus from the individual to the nation. For Mill, nevertheless, individual liberty was not an absolute right but a social utility.[50] Although Mill's social focus may only have been an argumentative strategy, Nakamura no more erred in emphasizing this aspect of Mill's thought than in adding references to the nation when he translated *Self-Help*.

Contrary to what might be assumed, the absence of an articulated concept of individualism and individuality in *Self-Help* did not represent a significant problem for its Japanese translation. Smiles's definition of individualism was narrower than that of Mill: Smiles did not celebrate eccentricity and was not interested in unusual behavior for its own sake. Those whose behavior Smiles thought went against social norms he always justified by their subsequent contributions to technological and social progress. When Smiles used the term "individualism," he meant individual initiative or self-reliance, nothing more. Expressions like "energetic individualism" or "strenuous individual application" had nothing to do with either philosophical or romantic individualism and were easily translatable with conventional Japanese or Chinese terms.[51] Nakamura had little difficulty in rendering literally a statement such as "steady application to work is the healthiest training for every individual ["jinmin no tenten hitori"], so it is the best discipline of the state."[52] While emphasizing social obligations, Confucianism required the individual to perfect his own conduct and did not allow blaming society for failure. Since no traditional word for "self-help"

[47] I have used David Spirtz's edition of Mill, *On Liberty* (New York, 1975). For the translation, see Nakamura Keiu, *Jiyū no ri*, in *Jiyū minken hen*, vol. 2 of *Meiji bunka zenshū* (Tokyo, 1969), 1–84.

[48] Nakamura, *Jiyū no ri*, 52 (Mill, *On Liberty*, 63). In this passage Mill stated, "That so few dare to be eccentric marks the chief danger of the time." Nakamura translated faithfully and thus endorsed the statement.

[49] Nakamura, *Jiyū no ri*, 55–57 (Mill, *On Liberty*, 66–68).

[50] Mill, *On Liberty*, 12.

[51] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 1: 9, 1: 24 (Smiles, *Self-Help*, 6, 18).

[52] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 2: 2 (Smiles, *Self-Help*, 27).

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existed, Nakamura had to coin one (*jijo*),[53] but its constituent traits all had equivalents: "self-culture" became *mizukara mi o osamuru*; "self-control," *mizukara onore ni katsu*; "self-development," *jiko no chikara ni yorite shitaru*; and so on. Emphasis on individual effort in such a context was quite traditional, part of popular Confucianism in Japan and China. And Nakamura's vocabulary derived from this tradition of advocating a moral scorecard, like that associated with Benjamin Franklin, on which the individual recorded his own successes and failures as he strove to improve himself.[54]

The samurai ethos was centered on the performance of individuals, not groups. As Ronald P. Dore has pointed out, the traditional popular literature of the warrior class celebrated the exploits of individual heroes, and pre-Tokugawa samurai had been notorious for their individual search for glory and their unwillingness to work in disciplined units. The comments of Europeans who sought to train samurai in Western military techniques indicate little change in the samurai ethos by the end of the period. Peasants were much easier to train in close order drill and disciplined group action than were the samurai. Similarly, the late Tokugawa idea of patriotism, as developed by Yoshida Shōin, among others, championed unaffiliated patriots acting independently according to each individual's sense of right and wrong.[55] Because they insisted on their own selflessness in their service to the nation, they cannot be said to have advocated individualism. They did not, nevertheless, think of themselves as cooperating for some collective goal.

Smiles, Nakamura, and late Tokugawa activists all regarded the individual as the unit of performance. Group action versus individual action was not an issue. The men who benefited society acted independently, not collectively. Like Adam Smith's invisible hand, the connections between individual acts and social benefit were amorphous, although individuals presumably acted morally rather than selfishly. Nakamura was content with Smiles's statements on the subject because they fit Japanese patterns. Smiles wrote, "No individual in the universe stands alone. . . . No man's acts die utterly; and, though his body may resolve into dust and air, his good and bad deeds will still be bringing forth fruit after their kind, and influencing generations for all time to come." "Every act"

[53] The lack of a vocabulary word or phrase does not in itself point to the lack of a concept. The term *onore* ("self") occurs very frequently in Confucian writing. Although the context in which *onore* is used often involves the suppression of the self, the continual repetition of such injunctions could not fail to call attention to the concept. Moreover, "self-help" is not an especially old English word. The earliest example given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 1831, used by Thomas Carlyle. Smiles could easily have borrowed the word from Carlyle. Travers has suggested, however, that the term came to Smiles from Emerson; "Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic," 187.

[54] For an exceptionally interesting account of this aspect of popular Confucianism, see Tadao Sakai, "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works," in William Theodore de Bary, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought* (New York, 1970), 331–67. For examples of this score-keeping in samurai writing, see Udono Chōkai, "Kanyō kōfu," in Inoue Tetsujirō, ed., *Bushidō sōsho*, 3 (Tokyo, 1905): 263; Yoshida Shōin, "Bukyō zensho kōroku," in *Yoshida Shōin*, ed. Matsumoto San'nosuke, vol. 31 of *Nihon no meicho* (Tokyo, 1973), 131; and Kaibara Ekiken, "Yamato zokujun," 74.

[55] Dore, "The Legacy of Tokugawa Education," in Marius B. Jansen, ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization* (Princeton, 1965), 126; Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon dōtoku shisō shi* (Tokyo, 1955), 80; Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China from War to Peace* (Chicago, 1974), 62; and Harry D. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), 219–45.

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performed and every word uttered, he stressed, influence "not only the whole" of one's "future life" but also "the whole frame of society."[56] These statements sound rather like the admixture of Buddhist and Confucian precepts found in popular ethical writing of the Tokugawa era.[57] Nakamura emphasized and slightly embellished this passage by defining the "whole frame of society" as "posterity ["shison"], friends ["hōyū"], other people, and the customs of the whole ["ittai no fūzoku"]."[58] Though the language is decidedly Confucian, the message is clear, because little differentiates Smiles's ideas from those abundant in Confucian writings. Nakamura cannot be faulted for translating "our forefathers" as "our ancestors" (*sensō*), since Smiles declared that "our forefathers still to a great extent influence us." Smiles wrote of the "vast importance of domestic training" and asserted that "the nation comes from the nursery"; Nakamura rendered these statements as "the way of managing one household is the way of managing the country ["ikka no jihō wa tsunawachi hōkoku no jihō"]" and "public morals ["fūzoku"] are the amalgam of house customs ["kafū"]."[59] Both are reasonable approximations, if not literal translations, of Smiles's ideas.

As this analysis shows, any characterization of Western thought as individualistic and of Eastern, specifically Japanese, thought as collectivistic would overstate the differences between the two traditions. Certainly, within Western thought there is a tradition of absolute individualism, which celebrates all individual activity—good and evil, social and antisocial—and which has no analog in Japanese thought. But, to find such absolute formulations of individualism totally divorced from social utility, one must look beyond popular moralists like Smiles and even beyond major intellectuals like Mill. Especially at the level of popular morality, the cross-cultural comparison yields not the black and white contrast of an individualistic tradition versus a collectivistic tradition but, rather, many shades of gray.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL CHARACTER described in *Saikoku risshi hen* provides the reasons behind its use as a text in lectures given to the Meiji emperor and its distribution to the public under government auspices. That relationship also explains why Nishimura Shigeki, a Confucian scholar and government official, described it as one of the most important works for en-

[56] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 363–64.

[57] Throughout the course of my research I encountered statements linking Smiles to Puritanism, Protestantism, or Calvinism. Hirakawa Sukehiro, for example, has claimed that both Smiles and Franklin shared parts of a Puritan ethos; Hirakawa, "Franklin to Meiji kōgō," *Shokun*, July 1975, p. 229. Those who have made this linkage apparently felt that, because Smiles stressed hard work and frugality and occasionally mentioned God or heaven, he belonged to one of these overlapping traditions. Certainly, Smiles came from a Protestant background (his family was Cameronian), and he was born in the same city as John Knox. Smiles was, however, hostile to his childhood tradition. See Smiles, *Autobiography*, 27. His concept of heaven was only vaguely Christian and not at all Protestant. His orientation to this-worldly material and cultural progress is the antithesis of any of the three traditions. Indeed, the very lack of any specific Protestant coloration in his thought made it easy—and, generally, appropriate—for Nakamura to apply Confucian terminology to Smiles's references to heaven.

[58] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 12: 6–7.

[59] *Ibid.*, 12: 1 (Smiles, *Self-Help*, 361).

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lightening the people and why he quoted it extensively in his own ethics texts.[60] Yet nationalism and official sponsorship cannot begin to account for the popularity of *Saikoku risshi hen* in the early Meiji period, let alone explain its staying power. Nakamura did not make explicit the audience to which his translation was directed, but the title suggests the samurai class. Almost untranslatable into English, *Saikoku risshi hen* might loosely be rendered as "Lofty Amibitions in Western Countries." The key word is *risshi*, a term used by Mencius to mean "righteous determination for the inspiration of others." *Risshi* as used in samurai writing was closely associated with the *shishi*, "men of high moral purpose," as late Tokugawa activists styled themselves.[61] The format and the language also suggest a samurai audience. Nakamura wrote the prefaces in Chinese (*kanbun*) and the text in a rather stiff Sino-Japanese (*bungotai*), a style similar to that used in government documents of the time. He provided no glosses for the characters, except in the case of foreign names, and no illustrations. *Saikoku risshi hen* looked very much like a serious, scholarly work, and there is no indication that Nakamura intended it to be anything else. Reading it demanded a level of literacy that was largely, if not exclusively, a possession of the samurai. Only some wealthy peasants (*gōnō*) and wealthy merchants (*gōshō*) among the mass of commoners had the necessary language skills. Although Japanese scholars have frequently associated it with the notorious robber baron, Ōkura Kihachirō, evidence linking *Saikoku risshi hen* to capitalists in general or merchants in particular is nonexistent.[62] Recollections and documentary sources indicate that the bulk of its readers were samurai and those wealthy peasants who shared major elements of the samurai ethos and often held quasi-samurai status.

Saikoku risshi hen was most explicitly linked to samurai through the Risshisha ("Society of Lofty Ambition"), an organization formed in 1874 by disaffected samurai from Tosa. Later other samurai formed branches throughout the country. The Risshisha took its name and part of its early program from *Saikoku risshi hen*, and its original statement of purpose quotes Smiles's assertion that "the na-

[60] For a discussion of the lectures, which were delivered by Katō Hiroyuki, later president of the Imperial University, see Kimura Kaoru, "Meiji ten'nō no shinteiōgakū: *Saikoku risshi hen* denrai hyaku nen o kinen shite," in *Meiji bunka kenkyū*, 2 (1968): 85–86. For Nishimura, see Donald H. Shively, "Nishimura Shigeki: A Confucian View of Modernization," in Jansen, *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*, 207. And, for modern editions of Nishimura's ethics texts, see Miyata Fumio, ed., *Dōtoku kyōiku shiryō shūsei*, 1 (Tokyo, 1969): 89–116. On official and quasi-official sponsorship of *Saikoku risshi hen*, see Maeda Ai, "Meiji risshin shusse no keifu," *Bungaku*, 33 (April 1965): 13.

[61] Concerning the *shishi*, see Marius B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration* (Stanford, 1971), 95–104. For a good example of *risshi* as defined by a *bakumatsu shishi* (one who was executed for his activities), see Hashimoto Keigaku (Sanai), "Keitōroku," in Inoue, *Bushidō sōsho*, 588–89.

[62] Most Japanese scholars have simply cited the popularity of *Saikoku risshi hen* without considering who could read it and who did read it. Those who have gone further have usually linked it to Ōkura on the basis of a single statement in which Nakamura recorded a gift of appreciation from him. See Asukai Masamichi, "Keimō shugi minken ron nashyonarizumu," in *Kindai Nihon shakai shisō shi I* (Tokyo, 1973), 86–87; and Kosaka, *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, 115. Although Ōkura may have been inspired by *Saikoku risshi hen*, it was far more likely that he was trying to improve his image by association with Nakamura. For evidence of samurai readership, see note 4, above, and pages 551–54, below. If but a single reader is to stand for the whole readership of *Saikoku risshi hen*, one might just as well choose the late Meiji antipollution activist, Tanaka Shōzō, or the cofounder of the Japanese Communist Party, Yamakawa Hitoshi. Both were readers of *Saikoku risshi hen.* Kenneth Strong, "Tanaka Shōzō, Meiji Hero and Pioneer against Pollution," *Bulletin of the Japan Society*, 67 (June 1972): 7; and Thomas D. Swift, "Yamakawa Hitoshi and the Dawn of Japanese Socialism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970), 70 n. 33.

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tion is a reflection of its people" (*kuni wa jinmin hansha no hikari nari*). The statement further declares that the country was in jeopardy because the people—that is, of course, the Tosa samurai members of the Risshisha—were losing their vigor. To restore the spirit of the nation, members pledged to cultivate themselves, manage themselves, preserve the rights of the people, and become an independent people (*jishu dokuritsu no jinmin*) fully comparable to the free peoples of Western countries. In part, the samurai based their program on Smilesean principles, and they distributed texts based on *Saikoku risshi hen*.[63]

Although the Risshisha engaged in various self-help projects for samurai, including a tea plantation, forest management, a school, and a loan fund to keep samurai out of the hands of usurers, most of these projects came to nought. The samurai did not want to become farmers, woodsmen, or businessmen, and they seldom had the knowledge or application required. From its inception, however, the Risshisha had political interests, which only increased with time. It rationalized political activity through ideas taken from *Self-Help*, arguing that the samurai alone among Japanese had intelligence (*chishiki*) and a spirit of independence (*jishu no kifū*); farmers, artisans, and merchants lacked these traits because these three classes had been oppressed during the years of Tokugawa rule. But their economic difficulties after the Restoration and the government's refusal to give them a voice in the new regime meant that even the Tosa samurai were losing their independent spirit. The Risshisha claimed that, if the nation were denied its members' spirit, the prosperity of Japan would suffer. To preserve their independence and, thus, Japan's as well, they had to be allowed to participate fully in government through a representative assembly and to be given economic aid to prevent their becoming meek and servile like commoners.[64]

The uses to which the Risshisha put the formulas it took from *Self-Help* and *Saikoku risshi hen* were vastly different from those Smiles had intended. Indeed, the assertion of hereditary privilege and ability, the justification of political activity, and the request for state aid directly contradicted the activities Smiles recommended. Nevertheless, the Risshisha's selective adaptation of *Self-Help* and *Saikoku risshi hen* did possess a certain tortured logic. This is not, however, enough to explain how it was that a work intended for industrial workers and craftsmen in a foreign country that had already passed through the Industrial Revolution could have been generally popular among members of a still partially feudal, hereditarily privileged warrior caste. This apparently bizarre association is in part to be explained by the substantial congruence between what *Self-Help* said and what significant elements of the mid-nineteenth-century samurai class thought and did. The workmen to whom *Self-Help* had been addressed were what one history of the period aptly styles "the upper crust of the working classes."[65] Smiles himself recorded that those to whom he lectured had been teaching themselves and each other "reading and writing, arithmetic and

[63] For a modern reproduction of these statements in two untitled documents, see Gotō Yasushi, "Risshisha shimatsu kiyō," *Shigaku zasshi*, 65 (January 1965): 64–69. And, for the background of the Risshisha, see Suzuki Yasuzō, *Jiyū minken kenpō happu* (Tokyo, 1939), 13–27.

[64] Untitled documents in Gotō, "Risshisha shimatsu kiyō," 64–69.

[65] J. B. Conacher, *Waterloo to the Common Market*, vol. 5 of *The Borzoi History of England* (New York, 1975), 107.

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geography, and even mathematics, chemistry, and some of the modern languages."[66] The many samurai who were struggling to acquire the rudiments of Western learning found a congenial self-image in the descriptions of self-education and self-cultivation contained in *Self-Help*. More importantly, because of the time lag between "humble origins" and ultimate accomplishment, the actual models in *Self-Help* were not nineteenth-century factory workers but eighteenth-century artisans, craftsmen, and petty functionaries. By the end of the Tokugawa period, most middle- and low-ranking samurai fell into these categories. Certain artisan occupations were even reserved for low-ranking samurai as a relief measure.[67] *Saikoku risshi hen*'s appeal lay in its promise of advancement out of such circumstances or, at the very least, respect and betterment within rank.

The possibility that samurai would identify with the models and values in *Self-Help* was increased by the vocabulary of *Saikoku risshi hen*. In discussing rank, Nakamura relied almost entirely on permutations and combinations of a compound meaning "wealthy and honored, impoverished and despised" (*fūki hinsen*). Smiles's declaration that "great men belong to no exclusive class or rank" became Nakamura's assertion that "great heroes come regardless of being honored or despised, being impoverished or wealthy."[68] Nakamura captured the sense of what Smiles had said except for one peculiarity: this compound and its various components were usually applied to describe divisions within the samurai class, between those with high rank and great wealth and those with low rank and little money. The compound did not refer to the distinction between samurai and commoners. Popular Tokugawa texts specifically define the "honored" portion of the formula as a formal rank (*kurai*) and the wealth portion as the emoluments that came with rank. The phrase is explicitly Confucian, found in the Analects.[69] Nakamura's terminology automatically fitted the models in *Saikoku risshi hen* into samurai concepts of the social order.

Numerous precedents existed in Japanese thought for asserting the merits of those of humble origin or circumstance. Early writers had found it expedient to ignore the Confucian emphasis on men of talent and to devote their energies instead to justifying the existing distribution of wealth and honor. Even they, however, had warned of the debilitating effects of hereditary wealth and occa-

[66] Smiles, *Self-Help*, vii.

[67] On the transformation of the samurai, see Fukuchi Shigetaka, *Shizoku to shizoku ishiki* (Tokyo, 1956), 70–71; Sasama Yoshihiko, *Ashigaru no seikatsu* (Tokyo, 1969), 196–97; and Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Kyūhanjō," trans. Carmen Blacker, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 9 (1953): 320–21, and *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, trans. Eiichi Kiyooka (New York, 1960), 9–11.

[68] Table of Contents for Chap. 1, *Saikoku risshi hen*.

[69] For the Confucian context of this term, see Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York, 1938), 102–03; and, for a Japanese explanation of the term, see "Jitsugokyō genkai," in *Nihon kyōkasho taikei*, 5: 189–90. (The *Jitsugokyō* was a popular ethics text that many early Meiji Japanese would have used during their elementary education.) For examples of the use of this term to describe divisions within the samurai, see Fujita Tōko, "Hitachi obi," in *Fujita Tōko, Aizawa Seishisai, Fujita Yūkoku*, ed. Hashikawa Bunzō, vol. 29 of *Nihon no meicho* (Tokyo, 1974), 56 (*daimyō* versus *hatamoto*), 167–68 (samurai of the fief), 169 (those with large stipends versus those with small ones). Other examples can be found throughout the writings of such figures as Kaibara Ekiken and Yoshida Shōin. Generally, samurai did not think about commoners unless they happened to be in rebellion. Concerning the general samurai attitude, see Harry D. Harootunian, "*Jinsei, Jinzai*, and *Jitsugaku*: Social Values and Leadership in Late Tokugawa Thought," in Bernard S. Silberman and Harry D. Harootunian, eds., *Modern Japanese Leadership: Transition and Change* (Tucson, 1966), 83–120, esp. n. 4.

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sionally stressed the merits of low birth. In the early eighteenth century, Ogyū Sorai and his disciples came to emphasize the inherent Confucian notion of promotion by merit. Ogyū argued that the "absence of hardship and tribulation" had caused the "upper classes" to become "increasingly stupid." Sounding distinctly like Smiles, he wrote, "Through the study of history . . . we may see, as clearly as in a mirror, that men of intelligence have all come from below; rarely have they come from hereditarily privileged families." Hardship tempered those without high hereditary rank and made them more suited for office. Just as the ancient sage kings had recognized this principle and raised men of talent, so should contemporary leaders.[70] As Thomas C. Smith and Ronald P. Dore have demonstrated, such ideas were fairly widespread in Tokugawa Japan, particularly near its end.[71] Readers of *Saikoku risshi hen* were well prepared for the special merit it attached to those of low birth, especially with Nakamura's vocabulary.

Even without the modifications introduced by the translation, *Self-Help* matched well with samurai vocational preferences. A few late Tokugawa writers had worked to modify the prejudice of the class against commercial activities, but recollections, comments, and subsequent performance all suggest that the samurai's first vocational preference was government service followed closely by academia.[72] Neither *Self-Help* nor *Saikoku risshi hen* fundamentally challenged these preferences. Smiles was critical of businessmen in general and refused a number of lucrative offers to write panegyrics of contemporary merchants. Although the ninth chapter of *Self-Help* is entitled "Men of Business," only one model is based specifically on the career of a merchant—David Barclay. Those to whom Smiles gave the greatest weight were military men—Napoleon and Wellington. The "business" Smiles described was almost exclusively managerial or governmental: military logistics and state fiscal affairs. Nakamura captured the sense of Smiles's terminology by rendering "men of business" as "men who carry out affairs of office" (*shokuji o tsutomuru*) or "men who carry out official duties" (*jimu o tsutomuru*). Only for Barclay did Nakamura use the somewhat pejorative "one who trades" (*shōbai suru*).[73]

The individual values that Smiles stressed matched well with those of the samurai. Frugality provides a prime example. In *Self-Help* frugality meant maintaining consumption within the limits of one's income, spending appropriate to one's station in life without false and costly display, and avoiding debt through

[70] For Ogyū's basic arguments, see Tsunoda *et al.*, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1: 421–24; and, in Japanese, Ogyū Sorai, "Seidan," in *Ogyū Sorai*, ed. Bitō Masahide, vol. 16 of *Nihon no meicho* (Tokyo, 1974), 466–75. For a discussion of Dazai's position, see Tetsuo Najita, "Political Economism in the Thought of Dazai Shundai," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1972): 821–39. For an example of this assertion that preceded Ogyū, see Tsunoda *et al.*, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1: 375–83, esp. 380.

[71] Dore, "Talent and the Social Order in Tokugawa Japan," in John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen, eds., *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan* (Princeton, 1968), 349–62; and Smith, "'Merit' as Ideology in Tokugawa Japan," in Ronald P. Dore, ed., *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan* (Princeton, 1967), 71–89.

[72] For the rethinking of samurai attitudes toward commerce, see Kaiho Seiryō's analyses in Tsunoda *et al.*, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1: 488–93. For data on samurai preferences and performance in the early Meiji period, see Hiroshi Mannari, *The Japanese Business Leaders* (Tokyo, 1974), 133–45.

[73] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 9: 1, 32.

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careful budgeting. Smiles was concerned more with encouraging a surplus for emergencies than with capital accumulation. He did not talk about "turning pence into pounds," compound interest, or other topics appropriate to an ethic of frugality directed at capital accumulation. Samurai moralists from Yamaga Sokō in the mid-seventeenth century through Yoshida Shōin in the mid-nineteenth had taught precisely the same ethic of frugality.[74] Proper use of time provides another example. Smiles stressed that workmen should use their spare time to acquire knowledge or to carry out experiments, a notion quite close to the samurai ethic that spoke of using all available time for the acquisition of knowledge and personal cultivation. Neither was concerned with the idea that "time is money," although Smiles did mention it.[75]

This matching of values and virtues in the Confucian and Victorian traditions existed throughout *Self-Help* and *Saikoku risshi hen* but was especially evident in the last chapter, "Character—The True Gentleman." Here Smiles stressed the importance of a good name, temperance, benevolence, loyalty, truthfulness, bravery, and, of course, good character. These were samurai ideals as well, and, not surprisingly, Nakamura titled this chapter "Character—The True *Chün-Tzu*," showing that he saw Smiles's concept of a gentleman as essentially identical to the Confucian-samurai ideal.[76] In only one instance did Nakamura give an indication that he believed Smiles's message might not be compatible with Confucian-samurai values. In a special preface to the fourth chapter of *Saikoku risshi hen* ("Application and Perseverance" in *Self-Help*), Nakamura emphasized that the true scholar (*shinsei gakushi*) was not embarrassed by menial tasks (*sengyō*), and he provided several examples of Chinese literati who had engaged in manual labor.[77] His fear that samurai would see intellectual activity as incompatible with physical labor was justified. Shortly after *Saikoku risshi hen* appeared, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nakamura's fellow Meirokusha associate, wrote a pamphlet directed at samurai, *Gakumon no susume* ("An Encouragement of Learning"). One of the first statements in this tract declares that those who perform intellectual work are properly regarded as important and deserving of respect, but those who perform manual labor are not.[78] Early Meiji schoolboys—a largely samurai group—wrote compositions based on *Saikoku risshi hen* in which they took the work *benkyō*, which Nakamura used to translate "labor" and "industry," and converted it into "academic study," a meaning that has remained to the present day.[79]

[74] Concerning the concept of frugality in Smiles's work, see Travers, "Samuel Smiles and the Victorian Work Ethic," 129; and Smiles, *Self-Help*, chap. 10: "Money—Its Use and Abuse." Smiles developed a capitalistic view of frugality only much later, in *Thrift*. For some samurai attitudes toward frugality, see Yoshida Shōin, "Bukyō zensho kōroku," 163–64; and Fujita Tōko, "Hitachi obi," 172–75.

[75] Smiles, *Self-Help*, 274; and Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 9: 21. For samurai concepts of time, see Yoshida Shōin, "Būkyo zensho kōroku," 146.

[76] Nakamura, *Saikoku risshi hen*, 13. For the Chinese Associations of *Chün-tzu*, see Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, 34–38.

[77] Nakamura Keiu, "Jijoron dai-yon hen jo," in *Meiji keimō shisō shū*, 284.

[78] For a discussion of this difference, see Earl H. Kinmonth, "Fukuzawa Reconsidered: *Gakumon no susume* and Its Audience," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 38 (1978): 688.

[79] Maeda, "Risshin shusse," 19.

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SPACE DOES NOT PERMIT A DISCUSSION of all of the interpretations and uses to which *Self-Help* was put in Japan in the late nineteenth century,[80] but even the evidence here largely resolves the commonly noted, but heretofore unexplained, question of the popularity in early Meiji Japan of what must be the most widely read celebration of the self-made man ever written. The translation of *Self-Help* and its reception in Japan illustrates a number of principles that should be common in the writing of bicultural history, but these principles have not generally been applied, at least for Japan. Ideas are shaped by the social and economic milieu in which they appear and serve the interests of the class or group that produces them. But ideas may also have an existence of their own. A work and the ideas it espouses that were constructed to serve one segment of society under one social structure may serve a very different segment of society under a very different social structure. A work that is part of the "popular culture" in one country may become part of the elite, intellectual culture in another. And the materials included in the purview of intellectual history need not be limited to those that present-day scholars consider valuable and original. The preferences and priorities of historical actors must be respected, even if their taste in reading matter seems questionable by contemporary standards. Works that seem trite and cliché-ridden today may well have been exciting, even revolutionary, to an earlier audience or to one facing a different set of socioeconomic and political problems.

The original text and the translation must be compared, for at the opening point of contact between two cultures ideas cannot be transmitted totally unaltered from one to the other. The translator may not even try such a transmission but may use the translation as a form of disguise for his own thoughts or seek to wrap his own ideas in the aura and prestige of a foreign work. Comparing the original with the translation can help point out important cultural and intellectual differences, but the comparison must be made with extreme care. Due consideration must be given to words that have changed meaning within recent history. This problem is especially acute with nineteenth-century English sources, because the familiarity of the vocabulary can lead to a false sense of understanding. "Individualism" is a case in point. Smiles and Mill did not attach to it the range of meanings current in contemporary American society. Far from meaning "doing one's own thing," individualism contributed to and was justified in terms of social progress, a value fully acceptable to Meiji Japanese. The sheer difficulty of reading the Japanese and Chinese languages contributes to a wariness about changed meanings of terms still in use. But the problem is even greater, because considering customary usage outside the text in question is necessary to understanding precisely how ideas are expressed. Only wide reading in the sources that would have been part of the education of the readers of the work makes it possible to know what nuance a given word-choice would convey.

[80] For a discussion of the various roles and interpretations of *Saikoku risshi hen* and *Self-Help* after the first decade of the Meiji era, see Earl H. Kinmonth, "The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975).

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Wide reading reveals, for example, that the term "wealthy and honored, poor and despised" was usually applied to gradations within the samurai class. In such cases, dictionaries are no help, and scholars may even find the original text misleading when they search for the meaning of a translated word or passage. Everything depends on how contemporaries interpreted it in light of their own intellectual preparation. Finally, even when such a detailed textual analysis has been carried out, actual interpretations of the translation must be documented. Readers often do more to make a work historically significant than does its author. No analysis of *Saikoku risshi hen* itself could explain how it became a political tract for disgruntled samurai. But that was precisely what it did become for the Risshisha.



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Time and History in Japan

GEORGE MACKLIN WILSON

"MODERN" LINEAR CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORY harbor a vulnerability not shared by cyclic historical thinking. Cycles recur, and repetitions preclude an end to history. In any linear model, time passing is conceived as history "unfolding." What will be the result if the core of belief in a linear scheme breaks down or, worse, apparently completes its assigned mission during the course of events in an actual historical process? When this happens, the shock to historical consciousness resembles a geological cataclysm: both leave a palpable void in their respective spheres, mental and physical. Because time *is* history for a linear model, the realization of the model's central goal will "stop" history, temporarily divorcing it from the sense of time passing. The sensitive observer of such a cataclysm, possessed of an idea of history, will be vulnerable to a profound feeling of discontinuity and disjuncture, a loss of historical bearings.

In Japan, as in all cultures of long duration, there are a few occasions when crisis has blurred the identity between time and history. Never did this kind of crisis erupt so forcibly as in the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Improvising to cope with coincident domestic and foreign difficulties, Japan's new leaders legitimized their program by "restoring" the imperial throne to secular rule and invoking the authority of the crown. The Restoration thus appeared to fulfill Japan's historic destiny, graven on Japanese minds through oral and written transmission from the protohistoric past, that a sacred line of emperors descended from the mythical creators of the cosmos should rule the country. In meeting this ancient test, however, the new Meiji government ironically engaged a dilemma that has bedeviled the Japanese ever since: how to reconstruct a sense of purpose in a people whose central historical myth has come to fruition?

In this essay it will be argued that Japanese historical consciousness is indeed linear in form and has been linear since the dawn of recorded history in Japan. But the residue of an earlier and simpler sense of time always conditioned the linearity of Japanese perceptions about history. A comparison of Japanese notions of time with those of China and Europe will help illuminate the relationship between time and history in Japan. The essential questions are three.

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What is the nature of Japanese historical consciousness? How have the Japanese construed the passage of time? Under what indigenous and external influences did the idea of time-as-history become established in Japan?

TIME SO BEWILDERS PHYSICISTS AND PHILOSOPHERS that humanists rarely venture into its intricate conceptual domain. A prominent historian of Western antiquity has suggested that "perhaps it is as well for the average historical student's peace of mind that he is even less aware of the degree of personal bias implicit in his temporal framework than he is conscious of the problems of causality in his reconstruction of the past."[1] Normally, time is treated as a "scientific" problem, outside the scope of the historian, who must accept temporal parameters as given. Yet time, like space, is a fundamental boundary condition of life. Perception of time depends on available technology, the climate, what people do to make a living, and the rituals they celebrate. But everyone perceives it, and in every culture time has a poignant quality that suffuses human affairs. Time marks off the parts of our lives, our youth and age, our fullness and death. And so time affects the way people choose to organize their communities, as it does also the values they want to live by, die for, and bequeath to posterity. When a society articulates a sense of time, "history" is apt to be there too. Put another way, a community aware of time passing will likely display a historical consciousness. This is what happened to the Japanese during their protohistoric era (A.D. third through seventh centuries). Such a transition had occurred earlier in China, where it became the practice to chronicle the passage of time by political reign-periods, an approach that had a decisive impact on the Japanese.

In English we are accustomed to saying that "time flows" or "time flies," or we may refer to the "passage of time"—without considering the implications such harmless metaphors conceal. Zeno's paradoxes go to extreme lengths to illustrate how complicated the subject of time can be, but there is no easy way to dispose of time's riddles. In the Western tradition the most famous observation ever made about time belongs to Saint Augustine: "What, then, is time? If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks me, I do not know."[2] But Immanuel Kant's opinion that time "yields no shape" may be a shrewder point. Like space, time is an a priori form by which the mind in-

[1] Chester G. Starr, "Historical and Philosophical Time," *History and Theory*, Beiheft 6 (1966): 35. But the same author has aptly observed that "the historian deceives himself who feels that in fixing his dates he has completely dealt with time"; *ibid.*, 32.

[2] Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Albert C. Outler (1955), as quoted in J. J. C. Smart, ed., *Problems of Space and Time* (New York, 1964), 58. Augustine did not merely muse about time: he was pre-eminently the theologian who made progress a plausible doctrine by systematically setting forth the need for history to proceed along a time line toward *parousia*, the ultimate historical objective of the second coming of Christ. See Frank E. Manuel, *Shapes of Philosophical History* (Stanford, 1965), 3–4; and Michael E. Carbine, "Conceptions of Time in the Psychologies of Freud, Erikson, and Rogers," *Soundings*, 62 (1979): 15–16. Carbine has pointed to two distinct conceptions of linear time in the Western tradition: orientation from past to present in Hebraic theology and the soteriological orientation from present to future that marks Christian theology after it became obvious that the return of Christ was not imminent; *ibid.*, 10–11, 17–18. This distinction, like the theological bases on which it rests, does not fit circumstances in China or Japan; even Japanese Buddhist salvation sects do not posit a return of deities to earthly existence.

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tuitively sorts out the sensory impressions derived from phenomena, and we can have no absolute knowledge of it. Far from being a thing-in-itself, time has no phenomenal aspect; it has no image and cannot be represented because it relates to neither shape nor place. But time is a condition without which objects and their appearances cannot be perceived.[3] Experience, therefore, occurs only within a transcendental and unknowable temporal framework.[4]

Recent scientific pronouncements have done little to improve on Kant. Although the startling implications of relativity theory have expanded our knowledge of the way time functions in the physical world, neither classical nor modern physics has produced a synthesis of knowledge about time or the space-time continuum as a dimension of human existence; for time, like length and mass, remains indefinable except intuitively, even in physical theory. And many scientists and philosophers of science find that they must approach time, apart from formal theory, in basically common-sense terms. G. J. Whitrow, a thoughtful mathematician and cosmologist, has said that "the essence of time is its transitional nature." Without it there would be no opportunity for experience to occur.[5] Whitrow's position requires that time still assume the Kantian role of enabling biological and physical events to happen. Like mass and length, time can be measured only metaphorically, unless highly sophisticated atomic measurements are used. Nor can time be situated. Arthur S. Eddington has spoken of "time's arrow" and its one-way movement, but there is no ultimate test of a unidirectional time. Furthermore, the argument that time (unlike mass and length) moves implies a need to establish some sort of index against which to plot how this "movement" proceeds, setting up the mathematical dilemma of infinite regress.[6]

Custom and written evidence indicate that Japanese conceptions of time and historical change are more linear than cyclical. There is no overt teleological theme in Japanese views of history, but nothing in those views seems to suggest that time is reversible. The Greek concept of *eschaton*, denoting finality and the ultimate end, has no indigenous equivalent in Japanese, and the translation of "eschatology" is *shūmatsuron* ("doctrine of the conclusion"). The character for "matsu" does, however, carry deep philosophical associations. It comes from the Buddhist canon and appears most prominently as the first half of the two-character compound *mappō*, which is the Mahāyāna ("Greater Vehicle") Buddhist idea of the "law" in its late and deteriorating phase. Japanese tradition through mythology and early versions of Shinto (*kami no michi* or *shintō*, the "way of the

[3] Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (1929; reprint ed., New York, 1965), 77.

[4] Joan Stambaugh, "Time, Finitude, and Finality," *Philosophy East and West*, 24 (1974): 129.

[5] Whitrow, *What Is Time?* (London, 1972), 175–77. This analysis is the best individual attempt at an interdisciplinary survey of time. First president of the International Society for the Study of Time, Whitrow wrote a masterful précis of the development of Western ideas of time for the society's inaugural conference: Whitrow, "Reflections on the History of the Concept of Time," in J. T. Fraser *et al.*, eds., *The Study of Time* (New York, 1972), 1–11.

[6] On "time's arrow," see Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World* (New York, 1929), 68–71. Whole books discourse on the subject of time and infinite regress. For a philosopher-historian's straightforward observations, see R. G. Collingwood, "Some Perplexities about Time, with an Attempted Solution," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, new ser., 26 (1926): 138–42.

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spirits or deities") offers no philosophical concept for end or purpose in the passage of time. By contrast, the Hebraic tradition from the Covenant onward required a shift from cyclical to linear thinking. But Christian theology, by asserting the uniqueness of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, absolutely obliged historical thinking to assume linear form, though it took the scientific revolution and biological evolutionism to cement the idea of time as a line on Western thought.[7] Nothing so dramatic marks the Japanese religious heritage. Ceremonies end, just as lives do, but the ultimate nature of the ending is never the subject of speculation in Japanese mythology.

It may be a Western conceit to juxtapose linear and cyclical views of history. Some anthropologists have labeled certain peoples "primitive" and characterized their sense of time as underdeveloped. They usually depict such peoples against a background of ceremonial rites based on myths—true stories exaggerated over long periods of time for their effect and their utility as models for human behavior. Mircea Eliade's phrase, "the myth of the eternal return," refers chiefly to the propensity of these primitive peoples to mark time according to mythical events that they re-enact in periodic rituals and use as the basis for their societal values.[8] In this context, the argument that the Japanese have tended to favor a linear view of history implies an "advanced" (or at least a nonprimitive) character for their historical consciousness. And the contrast that suggests itself most urgently is China, where linear considerations appear less emblematic and cyclical thinking might be held to predominate. It is not necessary, however, to insist that linear history is advanced and cyclical ideas are primitive or to argue that Chinese historical thought runs exclusively in circles rather than in lines. The sophistication of Chinese written history belies the notion of simple cyclical didacticism.

Here we must affirm that all conceptions of history contain both linear and cyclical elements. Every society at whatever scientific or technological level fantasizes repetitions in history, not literal perhaps, but repetitions in form. Giambattista Vico, for example, based his "new science" of 1744 on repetitions and "filiations," as Edward Said has called them; yet Vico now enjoys nearly universal acclaim as the forerunner of rational historical consciousness in Europe on the eve of the Enlightenment.[9] Neither Japanese nor Chinese speculations about history show an exclusive bent toward linear as opposed to cyclical projections, but Chinese philosophy (which is coterminous with historical writing under the

[7] Whitrow, "Reflections on the History of the Concept of Time," 6. He has traced the dominance of linear time in the West back to Galileo, Newton, and Locke and then proclaimed it a central but unprovable conviction of Western thought since the seventeenth century, which was hardened into the dogma of progress by the biological evolutionists of the nineteenth century; *ibid.*, 8–11.

[8] Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series, no. 46 (1954; reprint ed., Princeton, 1971), xiii-xiv, 86–89. Eliade has pointed out that myth is no longer equated with falsehood. Anthropologists and historians of religion have seen it as "the very ground of the religious life; . . . far from indicating a *fiction*, [myth] is considered to reveal *truth par excellence*"; Eliade, *The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion* (Chicago, 1969), 73 (author's emphasis).

[9] Said, "On Repetition," in Angus Fletcher, ed., *The Literature of Fact* (New York, 1976), 138–58 *passim*. Vico's cycles of repetition and "recourse" were combined with the linear pattern of stages—the age of the gods, the age of heroes, and the age of man—that he saw in the history of nations; see Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, trans. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), xxiv, 336.

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aegis of humane letters in general) stresses the recurrent aspects of man's interaction with nature. And China differs from Japan in the emphasis of its discourse on this issue.

Joseph Needham has explicitly argued that the basic Chinese world view conceives of time in linear, not cyclical, fashion. Linear will out, so to speak, though the issue is close: "it has elements of both conceptions, but broadly speaking . . . linearity . . . dominated."[10] Nathan Sivin has chosen to stress the cyclical nature of Chinese thinking about time.[11] Frederick W. Mote has not explicitly stated an opinion on this question, but he has implied that the Chinese sense of line and circle may be immaterial. What counts is Chinese cosmology as a preponderant humanism. Chinese thought does not contain a full-blown cosmogonic myth. Western analogistic thinking and ethnocentrism are responsible for the effort to imbue the Chinese with such a myth, but there is, in fact, none. Centered on man in nature, Chinese cosmology, in Mote's view, calls for a world order dependent on interpersonal relations and harmony between human institutions and natural phenomena.[12] From this standpoint it is reasonable to contend that cycles become just as important as linear ideas. Not just rituals of spring, the harvest, and the coming or going of life but also cycles of good government and bad, or rebellion and tranquility, fill the Chinese historical record. The emphasis on a golden age in the past resembles a myth of eternal return, but Chinese thought should in no way be construed as primitive, for it did not include any expectation of actual, physical recurrence. Nevertheless, the golden age always served as a standard for later Chinese, and on this point the Japanese notion of their own distant past differs precisely because they saw it as an age of superhuman beings, of mythical heroes, rather than of politicians and philosophers, as in China.

The Japanese sense of history differs from the Chinese but owes its origin to the process of adapting Chinese thought to Japan before and during the Nara period (710–94). Japanese cosmogonic myths were set down in writing at that time, principally in the *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters") and the *Nihon shoki* or *Nihongi* ("Chronicles of Japan") of 712 and 720.[13] Chronological records of imperial rule delivered through the medium of the Chinese written language al-

[10] Needham, *Time and Eastern Man*, Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Paper, no. 21 (Glasgow, 1965), 50. This essay is the only extended analysis linking physical science with Chinese ideas about time, and it deserves a wide readership. For substantially the same text, see Needham, "Time and Knowledge in China and the West," in J. T. Fraser, ed., *The Voices of Time: A Cooperative Survey of Man's Views of Time as Expressed by the Sciences and by the Humanities* (New York, 1966), 92–135.

[11] Sivin, "Chinese Conceptions of Time," *Earlham Review*, 1 (1966–67): 82–92.

[12] Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of China* (New York, 1971), 17–20.

[13] Both are available in English: Donald L. Philippi, trans., *Kojiki* (Princeton and Tokyo, 1969); and William George Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (1896; reprint ed., London, 1956). One scholar who has doubted that the chronicles were either original or pervasive is H. Byron Earhart. Because they reflect Chinese cultural influence and Yamato political motivation and because they "simply . . . were never that popular," Earhart has concluded that "there is probably no such thing as a foundational myth in the history of Japanese religion." As a set of pervasive cosmogonic stories, however, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* have stood the test of time; later generations knew them far better than their eighth-century contemporaries did. And Earhart has answered part of his own argument by pointing out that "almost all myths and scriptures are already synthetic statements" reflecting varied cultural influences. Earhart, *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity* (2d ed., Encino, Calif., 1974), 17–18.

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lowed the Japanese government centered in the Yamato Plain to construct and enforce its own version of the way the world began. Around the same time the rise in literacy at the Yamato court enabled Shinto to assume formal identity as an indigenous set of beliefs that may be called religious. It also retained its role as a form of folk behavior associated with recurring ceremonies and rituals. Over the centuries a complex interplay of ideas led to changes in Japanese thinking about history. This thinking reflects Buddhist theology mediated by the Chinese and Korean texts in which it came to Japan; such thinking also reflects Confucian philosophy that entered in a similar way. Of course, Chinese and Korean thought—especially Confucianism—underwent changes, but the Japanese also made continual incursions into the intellectual substance of the doctrines they imported. Through all of this intellectual activity a linear mentality persisted, connecting the Japanese state to its mythical origins. So did an East Asian sense of time that appears to differ sharply from Western conceptions.

IN WESTERN THOUGHT, EXISTENCE OR BEING happens "in time," and time therefore defines the limits of finitude within which life goes on. In Buddhist thought, however, transcendence of life as well as living existence may be characterized *as* time: time "spent" *is* existence. Finality comes only through escape from the cycle of rebirth (by means of *nirvana*) or through the "awakening of insight" beyond mundane expectation (*satori*). The Buddhist view of time, therefore, has no need of sequence; events are all existential and transcendental at once.[14] Such a characterization neatly accords with Mote's comparative assessment of the Chinese approach to time and history: events in the West are viewed as moving one after another in causal sequence, whereas in China they have their own contemporaneity. Not causality, Mote has suggested, but Carl Gustav Jung's idea of "synchronicity" signifies the relationship of events to time in China.[15] When Jung coined the word "synchronicity," he meant "meaningful coincidence," and, like the "collective unconscious" with its inherited "archetypes," this Jungian term poses difficulties for logicians and epistemologists.[16] But, taken simply as the willful abandonment of insistence on direct causal connections between discrete events, synchronicity represents an effective way to denote the Chinese view of time and history. It also applies to Japan.

As their sense of history became multilayered, the Japanese seem to have grafted Confucian precepts onto indigenous thought, then made great strides by adapting from Buddhism, and returned again to Confucianism only in the Tokugawa period (1600–1867), when the varieties of Neo-Confucian ethics constituted the ideology of both state and society. To narrate history they combined the timeless Shinto creation myth with the idea of an imperial line of rulers.

[14] See Stambaugh, "Time, Finitude, and Finality," 129, 133–35; and Kenneth K. Inada, "Time and Temporality—A Buddhist Approach," *Philosophy East and West*, 24 (1974): 171–79.

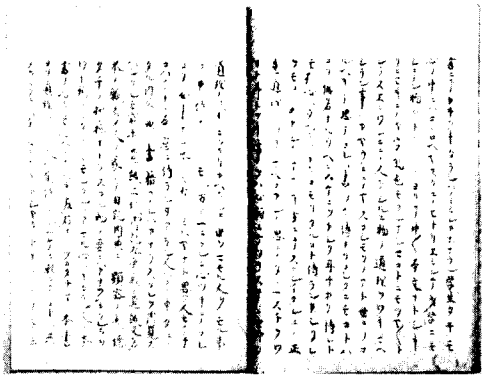
[15] Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of China*, 22, 27–28.

[16] Jung, *Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle*, extract from vol. 8, *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, trans. R. F. C. Hull, Bollingen Series, no. 20 (Princeton, 1973), v-vii, 104–15, and "Letters on Synchronicity," in vol. 18, *The Symbolic Life: Miscellaneous Writings*, of *The Collected Works* (Princeton, 1976), 502–09.

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This concept of imperial rule was borrowed from Chinese political thought, but unlike Chinese rulers the Japanese imperial line never changes; unchanging succession within the imperial family assures nobility of origins and legitimacy of authority. The chronicles—the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*—lay out the imperial reigns in proper Confucian fashion, and the usual exemplars of good and bad monarchical behavior dot their pages. The initial reign-periods were superhumanly long, and the reigns grow shorter, more human in scale, as the chronicles approach the era when they were written.

Soon the early histories were supplanted as models of Japanese historical thinking by other chronicles, prepared by monks or warriors under the influence of Buddhist teachings. Perhaps the most interesting example is the *Gukanshō* ("Random Writings"), composed about 1220.[17] The *Gukanshō* amounts to a conflation of Buddhist doctrine and Japanese ideas drawn from the Shinto tradition of the state. It sets Japanese history on a straight line and points it toward the





Figures 1a and 1b: One of the many copies of the *Gukanshō* (1220), and its author, the Tendai monk Jien (1155–1225). Reproduced courtesy of Shōgakkan publishers, taken from Ōyama Kyōhei, *Kamakura bakufu* (Tokyo, 1974), 322.

future. The reflections are everywhere hedged about by gloom and a sense of impending disaster (not surprising in Buddhist literature), but the reasons given to account for the current state of affairs do not proceed in sequential expository form. The situation is outlined and timeless laws are given to explain it. Written during a crisis in relations between the imperial court and the military government (*bakufu*) at Kamakura, the *Gukanshō* might have had a politically didactic purpose. We may surmise that its author, Jien (1155–1225), a gifted monk and four-time abbot of the Tendai sect, wanted to cite "lessons" from the past and so warn both the imperial family and the court aristocracy against just the sort of confrontation with the military that occurred in the Jōkyū uprising of 1221; but such a surmise is yet another Western conceit.[18]

[17] Jien, *Gukanshō*, vol. 86 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo, 1967). For an English translation with extensive commentary, see Delmer M. Brown and Ishida Ichirō, eds. and trans., *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the* Gukanshō—*An Interpretative History of Japan Written in 1219* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979).

[18] Brown and Ishida have argued throughout their extensive commentary in *The Future and the Past* that politics caused Jien to write the *Gukanshō*. For similar perspectives, see Delmer M. Brown, "Buddhism and Historical Thought in Japan before 1221," *Philosophy East and West*, 24 (1974): 215, 223; and Kuroda Toshio, "Gu-

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Jien recognized the political authority of the imperial line descending from the creation myth, which he accepted at face value and made an article of faith. But he discerned three phases in the evolution of Japanese government: direct and personal imperial rule, imperial rule with aristocratic assistance, and imperial rule with the aid of both civil and military aristocrats such as the Fujiwara family of Kyoto and the heirs of the Minamoto family of Kamakura. The unfolding of this pattern is ordained by both Buddhist principle (*dōri*) and the spirit of the imperial ancestors (*sōbyō no kami*).[19] Jien was well schooled in the manifold cycles of Buddhist doctrine, which are very long indeed, lasting several tens of thousands of years or longer; as such they could have no more immediate bearing on the affairs of men than the lengthy cycles that Western geologists and astronomers have talked about in dealing with the formation and development of the earth, the solar system, or the galaxies. Jien could construct a sophisticated narrative, and in parts of the *Gukanshō* he carefully did so. But the "causes" of events seem to emerge more from the author's deep faith in Japan and the Japanese Shinto tradition than from the order of those events as he described them.

This feature also marks the military tales, the *gunki monogatari* or *gunkimono*, that began to appear in the Kamakura period (1185–1333). Perhaps the most celebrated and certainly the most repeated of all of these stories, the *Heike monogatari* ("Tale of the Taira Family"), opens with a flourish: "The sound of the bell of Gionshoja echoes the impermanence of all things. The hue of the flowers of the teak tree declares that they who flourish must be brought low. Yea, the proud ones are but for a moment, like an evening dream in springtime. The mighty are destroyed at the last, they are but as the dust before the wind."[20] Up and down go the fortunes of individuals and families, a cycle in tune with both human and Buddha nature. But nothing need deter the Japanese imperial line in its mythic-heroic flight across the ruts and bumps of earthly history.

THE JAPANESE CREATION MYTH is both so compelling and so relentlessly original that it stands as a principal feature of Japanese thought. It appears in the *Kojiki*

kanshō and Jinnō Shōtōki—Observations on Medieval Historiography," in John A. Harrison, ed., *New Light on Early and Medieval Japanese Historiography*, University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, no. 4 (Gainesville, 1959), 24–28. Despite the close connection between Jien's political interests and his view of history, the conflation of Buddhist macrocycles and Shinto linearism presented in the *Gukanshō* defies simple cause-effect explanatory patterns. Jien created his system of historical interpretation out of multiple motives, some personal and some doctrinal. The work combines his intellectual faith in Buddhism with his emotional allegiance to Shinto and the Japanese imperial tradition.

[19] Brown, "Buddhism and Historial Thought in Japan," 217, 223–24. A recent gloss of Jien's stage theory of Japanese history emphasizes the role of Buddhist help for the sovereign; see Ōyama Kyōhei, *Kamakura bakufu*, vol. 9 of *Nihon no rekishi* (Tokyo, 1974), 322–23. But see Brown and Ishida, *The Future and the Past*, chap. 5 *passim*.

[20] A. L. Sadler, trans., *Heike monogatari* (1918), as quoted in Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan* (New York, 1959), xxv. Another genre, the *rekishi monogatari* ("historical tale"), appeared earlier than the *gunkimono* and similarly appealed to a broader elite than the original court histories, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. The best example of the *rekishi monogatari* is the *Ōkagami* ("Great Mirror"), composed late in the eleventh century. It charts a linear course based on the reigns of the emperors and ultimately comes to focus on the life of the grandest court aristocrat in Japanese history, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027). *Ōkagami*, vol. 21 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo, 1960). For an English edition, see Joseph K. Yamagiwa, trans., *The Ōkagami: A Japanese Historical Tale* (London, 1967).

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and *Nihon shoki*, and the political provenance of these chronicles does nothing to diminish the appeal of the mythological base. Certainly, the creation myth transcends the state. It contains vivid and beautiful tales, pulsing with so much life that a Victorian translator chose to clothe a few sentences demurely in Latin rather than risk offending English delicacy.[21] As Joseph Campbell has said, "The freshly fledged literati of Japan still had the dew of youth upon them." The myth's power, its Japaneseness, no one doubts. Campbell has called the result "the most remarkable history of the world-as-fairytale that the literature of [mythology] knows—which . . . befits Japan, where . . . the extraordinary earnestness and profound gravity of the ideal of life [are] masked by the fashionable fiction that everything is only play."[22] These are archetypal stories, in the nomenclature of Northrop Frye.[23] They consist of "idealized episodes in the lives of the heroes whom the nobility appreciated and emulated as models of the sublime and desirable in human life."[24]

The creator gods, including their lustrous offspring, the sun goddess Amaterasu, paid attention to the green islands of Japan. Amaterasu's brother Susanoo, a complicated character who apparently embodied violent forces of nature such as wind and storms, did his mischief but was banished before he could loose devastation on the islands. Amaterasu's grandson, Ninigi, purposely descended to Japan, and Ninigi's grandson (or great-grandson) became Japan's first emperor and founded the Japanese state. He is known from his reign-title as Jinmu Tennō, the "Divine Warrior." His dynasty's power consolidated in a great "eastward expedition" to the Yamato Plain region, his claim to sacred authority clearly established, Jinmu started Japanese political history.[25] Nothing intervened between politics and other aspects of official life. Religion in the strict sense had no independent existence as it did in the West. What was political was religious; the religious was equally political. *Matsurigoto* ("ceremonial affairs") is the first Japanese word for government, and it guarded against a schism between the civil and the sacral. It means government and also conveys the sense of religion; or, as George Sansom has put it, the word connotes "the business of

[21] See Basil Hall Chamberlain, trans., *"Ko-ji-ki": or, "Records of Ancient Matters"* (1882; reprint ed., Tokyo, 1906). A fine example of retreat into Latin occurs during the dance to lure the sun goddess, Amaterasu, out of a cave; *ibid.*, 64–65.

[22] Campbell, *The Masks of God: Oriental Mythology* (New York, 1962), 465–66. This passage has been quoted in part by Mikiso Hane; see his *Japan: A Historical Survey* (New York, 1972), 13.

[23] Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, 1957), 99, 365. Frye's "archetype" is a predominant literary symbol or image; *ibid.*, 365.

[24] Philippi, *Kojiki*, 15.

[25] This rapid survey does scant justice to the mix of later political motives, local lore, and ritual behavior surrounding a host of spirits or deities (*kami*). Aside from the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* themselves, good brief summaries of the creation myth are readily available; see, for example, E. Dale Saunders, "Japanese Mythology," in Samuel Noah Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), 409–42; John Whitney Hall, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times* (New York, 1970), 26–28; and Hane, *Japan: A Historical Survey*, 11–13. For a swiftly paced, authoritative Japanese compendium, see Matsumae Takeshi, *Nihon no kamigami* (Tokyo, 1974). Susanoo is a figure of great excitement who embodies the dangerous ambivalence that mythic deities possess in common with such earthly counterparts as kings, queens, or other rulers. The anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao has characterized Susanoo as a hero-trickster, able to do things that mortals dare not do, such as murder, incest, and despoliation of cultivated land. The institutions of kingship seek to borrow these mythic powers in the process of their own legitimation. Yamaguchi, "Kingship, Theatricality, and Marginal Reality in Japan," in Ravindra K. Jain, ed., *Text and Context: The Social Anthropology of Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1977), 151, 157–68.

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worship."[26] The official creation myth fairly assured this result by infiguring the tales about the "heavenly ancestors" into the transition to their human successors on the imperial throne.

How did these gods and early emperors live? Like mortal men and women, generally: their lives were not specially sacralized. In those times—*in illo tempore*, as Mircea Eliade has put it—the gods were metaphoric concentrations of human traits: joy, love, ambition, even greed and lust make appearances in the stories. The very nature of Shinto was vivacious, even playful, and its deities, the *kami*, were so mundane that early Western commentators treated them with derision.[27] Whatever Shinto possessed in the way of theology was implicit. Not long ago a Shinto priest in a party that included Eliade replied to a question about the absence of doctrine by stating, "We have no theology. We dance." Further reflection moved Eliade himself to decide that the Japanese seem driven by a need to confront the divine incarnate. "Everything in the cosmos can be transfigured, no one is unworthy to receive the visit of a god: a flower, a stone, a pillar of wood." Time is neither a limiting nor an enabling factor, because temporal duration never catches the *kami*. Shinto showers the universe with "an infinity of instant epiphanies."[28] The stories capture this conspicuous vivacity and celebrate the rites of life. Death is notably played down. Of a definitive ending of life there is no trace. And this fits well with the Japanese proclivity not to dwell on death or the afterlife. John C. Pelzel has noted that the mythmakers treated death with equanimity: they "quite simply denied death as a final or different state [and] saw life [as being] universal in time as it is in space."[29] Synchronicity again: life does not "lead" to death in the causal-sequential sense, nor is death necessarily conclusive. Even after Buddhism was fully integrated into the Japanese scheme of things, the bloom remained on life despite its transient and ephemeral nature. The high and mighty become lowly after a while, but they may rise to power and glory again. The finitude of John Donne's formulation is missing.

Not merely human nature and individual destiny but history and historicity in Japan also partake of this temporal sense of separate segments rather than sequential series. The emperors reigned, it is said, one after another, but it makes no apparent difference in what order the reigns occurred. The line itself is clear and sharp, a thread running through every chronicle as well as through the

[26] Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford, 1958), 35. The importance of the concept of *matsurigoto* is underscored by its early appearance; see Philippi, *Kojiki*, 140, 140 n. 11. For the *locus classicus* of "infiguration," see Francis Macdonald Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London, 1907), 130–33. "Infiguration" is Cornford's own coinage, intended to convey the point that the demands of an orderly plot oblige historians to structure a narrative in part or in full by "the moulding of facts into types of myth contributed by traditional habits of thought"; *ibid.*, 132. This major contribution has only recently begun to attract the attention due it; see Peter Munz, *The Shapes of Time: A New Look at the Philosophy of History* (Middletown, Conn., 1977), chap. 5 *passim*, 323 n. 31; and Kieran Egan, "Thucydides, Tragedian," in Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, eds., *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding* (Madison, Wisc., 1978), 63–92.

[27] For example, Chamberlain wrote that early Japanese Shinto had no organization, dogma, moral code, or canonical texts as did the "civilized religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam"; *"Ko-ji-ki"*, lxxiv.

[28] Eliade, *No Souvenirs: Journal, 1957–1969*, trans. Fred H. Johnson, Jr. (New York, 1977), 31, 35.

[29] Pelzel, "Human Nature in the Japanese Myths," in Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively, eds., *Personality in Japanese History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), 45.

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more cosmopolitan *Gukanshō*. But its ultimate fate, what will finally become of the imperial line, does not arise as a subject for consideration. Time in the form of existence can never run out. Jien in the *Gukanshō* pondered the future of the emperors, reflecting a generalized fear that only one hundred reigns would be permitted. Originally the phrase "one hundred reigns" indicated an indefinite number extending *ad infinitum*, but political commotion had changed confidence into anxiety. Eighty-four reigns were already on record, and Jien occasionally worried about the forthcoming lapse of continuity. Given his stated conviction that Japan was in the deteriorating phase of a long Buddhist cycle, it was natural for him to speculate in this way, but the telling point is that Jien found the resources to obviate the unwanted possibility. Secular improvement within long-term deterioration, he proclaimed, could replenish a depleted supply, just as paper gets restocked when the number of sheets runs low.[30] And, as he actually plotted the story of the imperial line, Jien never questioned its heroic character—yet of all times he was writing around the year 1220![31] A century and more of bitter disputes among the emperors and retired emperors as well as the civil and military nobility had not shaken this pillar of the Tendai Buddhist sect. He did not expect the emperors to rule without the assistance of courtiers, monks, and warriors. It was enough that the imperial line existed and would continue to exist through improvement and replenishment even as the barely perceptible deterioration of the Buddhist cycle proceeded.

A later history, more famous but not as sophisticated as the *Gukanshō*, evinces a similar approach but blithely ignores Buddhist fears of decline. *Jinnō shōtō ki* ("Record of the Orthodox Succession of Divine Rulers"), written in 1339 by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), introduces the imperial line as the hallmark of Japan and the touchstone of its genius as a culture. The book's initial phrases put the point boldly: "Japan is the divine land, the land of the *kami*. The original heavenly ancestor laid the foundation, and the sun goddess will forever transmit the succession. Only in our country does this situation exist. In other dynasties its like is not to be found. This is why we call it the divine land."[32] George Sansom branded *Jinnō shōtō ki* as "a polemic treatise rather than a history Its general attitude reveals influence of the *Gukanshō*."[33] But this chronicle again reaffirmed the orthodox succession as the characteristic trait of Japanese political history. From the clouds of myth to the fourteenth century, this

[30] On the convenient principle of "deterioration . . . followed by improvement," see Brown and Ishida, *The Future and the Past*, 36. Jien invoked both Buddhist and Shinto law when he said, "We find that all phenomena alternately deteriorate and improve"; *ibid.* Elsewhere in the book Jien speculated that only sixteen reigns were left, but he acknowledged the role of human actors when he warned that poor conduct of affairs could bring destruction at once, long before one hundred reigns had elapsed; *ibid.*, 21, 198, 224, 230. He concluded, "Since there are now no persons like those who lived in ancient times, the situation cannot be restored to what it was then. But it is an age when . . . improvement can be made if proper [appointments to office] are made"; *ibid.*, 239.

[31] On the unresolved question of when the *Gukanshō* was composed, see Jien, *Gukanshō*, 8–16. Also see Brown and Ishida, *The Future and the Past*, 347–48, 348 n. 113.

[32] Kitabatake, *Jinnō shōtō ki / Masu kagami*, vol. 87 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Tokyo, 1965), 41. H. Paul Varley will publish an English translation of the *Jinnō shōtō ki* under the title *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*.

[33] Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1615–1867* (Stanford, 1963), 94 n. 9. But the same author has also praised the *Jinnō shōtō ki* as "a remarkable work [and] a fine piece of historical special pleading, and at the same time a call for political reform"; Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1334–1615* (Stanford, 1961), 104.

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Figure 2: Mutsuhito, reign-title Meiji, the 121st emperor of the line (1867–1912), in whom imperial authority was "restored" by the *coup d'état* of January 3, 1868. His official coronation photograph, reproduced courtesy of the Ponsonby Memorial Society, taken from R. A. B. Ponsonby Fane, *The Imperial House of Japan* (Kyoto, 1959), 125.

principle was reiterated, and it permeates Japanese thought in the subsequent Tokugawa period right to the Meiji Restoration.

In an elegant and almost forgotten manuscript, Kurt Singer fixed Japan with the epithet "the realm of time." Singer compared Japan with China, which to him seemed more a "realm of space."[34] The dichotomy is stark but useful. Neither Japanese nor Chinese thought gives much importance to the specific duration of any particular historical process, whether the life of a dynasty in China or of a political style in Japan. For China, however, time's relative simplicity contrasts with the pervasive vastness of space. The space of the Central King-

[34] Singer, *Mirror, Sword, and Jewel: A Study of Japanese Characteristics*, Introduction by Richard Storry (New York, 1973), 145–48.

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dom was crucial. Culturally, the space not comprehended by China was of no great significance unless the outsiders in such peripheral areas invaded the Central Kingdom. But the central space itself held real life, universal life, where Chinese culture prevailed. "Chinese civilisation seems one with China's wide plains It is not man who dominates in this world, but Space itself, . . . a timeless presence."[35] Yesterday, today, and tomorrow commingled, but China built its culture in spatial terms. The human generations were important, to be sure, yet five of them formed a unit. Forever was a vacant notion.

Japan, however, lacked space, and nature had peevishly left the mountain-clad islands wanting in resources. Not niggardly space but heavenly time was the cosmic gift to Japan. Ordained by divine myth and symbolized by the mirror, sword, and jewel belonging to the imperial family, Japan's spirit moved through time even while it "existed" as time—without conceivable end. No one devised an intellectual framework for an ending; no contingency provided for the unthinkable prospect of termination. If some dreamlike act of wish fulfillment were to occur, the conversion of myth to hard political reality would leave the human actors unsure where to turn or what to do next. A return to the golden age of the original heroes was out of the question. Their light shined on and on as time passed unbidden. And then along came the Meiji Restoration.

NOTHING IN THE ANNALS OF JAPAN before 1868 prepared those who thought in historical terms for the divorce of time from history that accompanied the fulfillment of the Meiji Restoration. One prior attempt to re-establish the monarch as the actual ruler of Japan, the Kenmu Restoration of 1334–35, had collapsed in military defeat. The difference in intent between these two restorations is instructive. Emperor Godaigo (1288–1339) sought to reimpose the Kyoto court's supremacy over the eastern provinces at a time when Japan was becoming too fragmented politically and militarily to allow effective central control. The emperor thus overreached himself and lost his bid to rule as well as to reign. But his aim was traditional, if reactionary. He meant to consolidate the eroded prerogatives of the imperial court and its military allies.[36]

No such underlying continuity of intent was at work in the Meiji Restoration. By 1868 the restoration of "direct" imperial rule required the dismantlement of a massive and historically effective configuration of Japanese people, places, and institutions—the Tokugawa *bakufu*, whose authority as *primus inter pares* in poli-

[35] *Ibid.*, 145–47.

[36] For the story of the Kenmu Restoration and its place in recent Japanese historiographical debates, see H. Paul Varley, *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan* (New York, 1971). For Varley's treatment of Godaigo's intentions and their "reactionary" quality, see *ibid.*, 95. In terms of structural anthropology evoked by Yamaguchi Masao, Godaigo both literally and figuratively went too far. A king reaches the apogee of his capacity to exercise power at the center of the political arena when he withholds his full potential in order to maintain tension around him: "the history of royalty does not unfold in the shadowy wings of society, but on the contrary occupies the central scene of the area in which a given political community is evolving. This space is loaded with extremely dense tension [making] kingship . . . the central symbol of the political-ritual space of society." Yamaguchi, "Kingship as a System of Myth: An Essay in Synthesis," *Diogenes*, no. 77 (1972): 52, 61. Godaigo spent his authority too freely and spread it on the "margin" of the political arena, losing the "center" (Kyoto) in the process.

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tics had been paramount since the early seventeenth century. Such a restoration also made it necessary to take apart the entire system of distributing power and perquisites that permitted the Tokugawa *bakufu* to share its authority without losing it. No matter how ardently the new leaders tried to demonstrate the compatibility of the Meiji government with Japanese historical tradition, in practice the Restoration of 1868 broke with precedent and embarked upon a novel journey. The transcendent element in Japanese mythology could now be fully politicized, but at the cost of its hold over the collective historical consciousness. "We have no history," a Japanese friend told the startled German physician Erwin Baelz in 1876. "Our history begins today."[37] That the premise for the Restoration came out of Japan's own philosophical heritage is undeniable. The *Gukanshō* and the *Jinnō shōtō ki* as well as the ancient chronicles attest to it; so do the philosophical writings of the Tokugawa era. But the indigenous provenance of the premise did not soften the blow to continuity struck when the central myth of Japan's history had to end if it were to be used. The premise was, after all, grounded in myth. Converted into reality, the myth of the premise disintegrated. Actual politicians had to take the myth and install it as an organizing principle with which to try to build an entirely new political structure—a national state on the European-American model.

At this point, time and history diverged, the Japanese sense of historical purpose became veiled, and successive generations down to the present have confronted the problem of trying to revive it. They have failed: oligarchs, zaibatsu, militarists, and plutocrats—*inter alios*—all had their opportunities but could not discover a durable Japanese past to ignite public emotion and reveal an ultimate goal in Japan's future. These elites of the century since the Restoration have bequeathed the quest for meaning and value to the current generation of Japanese. Today many visions compete, and the competition is fierce. Perhaps a complex industrial society cannot agree on any single sense of historical destiny or mission and, therefore, cannot settle on a "myth of concern" to guide it.[38] The ambiguity of the situation only intensifies Japan's dilemma of identity and purpose, assuring the nation of decades of further tension to come.

It may be fitting that a linear model of history should become vulnerable to such a crisis in Japan before the "modern" West lost faith in the secular religion of nationalism. By comparison, the Japanese came late to nationalism. Europeans and Americans inaugurated the era of national states under the seculariz-

[37] Baelz, *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor—Erwin Baelz*, ed. Toku Baelz (1932; reprint ed., Bloomington, Ind., 1974), 17.

[38] The phrase "myth of concern" signifies the ideological basis of a world view. Northrop Frye's use of the phrase in this capacity encouraged me to coopt it as a synonym for the social role of Japan's central historical myth, and "myth of concern" is an axial concept in my study of the Meiji Restoration in modern Japanese history. See Frye, *The Critical Path: An Essay on the Social Context of Literary Criticism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1973), chap. 2 *passim*. He has written, "The myth of concern exists to hold society together For it, truth and reality are not directly connected with reasoning or evidence, but are socially established. What is true, for concern, is what society does and believes in response to authority, and a belief . . . is a statement of willingness to participate in a myth of concern." *Ibid.*, 36. For historical writing, William J. Bouwsma has compared the operation of a myth to that of a model in the social sciences. Whether true or false, a myth can aid a historian by serving as an axis around which to organize the discourse. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," *AHR*, 84 (1979): 9.

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ing impact of science as it exploded onto the scene from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, culminating in the nationalist surge of the nineteenth century. This transition was relatively smooth because nation could be substituted for church and secular values projected as religious ones. In Japan the Meiji Restoration demanded a very rapid transition and a deliberate expropriation of myth for concrete political purposes. Everything happened so fast that Japan became a laboratory for experimentation with new values (or old ones regirded) to support competing existential strategies. The state and nationalism constituted only one such strategy. But the fulfillment of old verities in an epochal event like the Meiji Restoration robs those verities of their power to inspire. Traditionalists must embellish them in order to achieve a specific definition of their role in a postmythical age. Societies tremble when such changes occur, and "world history" finds its paradigms. Because the remaining large industrial societies all face similar dilemmas as the force of nationalism wanes, Japan's problem with its sense of historical mission may be at once ironic and prophetic. Defeat in the Second World War vitiated the particular nationalist-imperialist style that Japan borrowed from Europe and America. Late to reach and early to leave this style of nationalism, the Japanese continue to pursue their elusive mission, while other "modern" nations extend their own national histories.

If, as R. G. Collingwood has asserted, "the chief business of twentieth-century philosophy is to reckon with twentieth-century history," then we have a long way to go and rather little time left.[39] Perhaps the Japanese experience of time and history in the "modern" world bears closer watching.

[39] Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (1939; reprint ed., Oxford, 1978), 79.



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Learning from Those "Imitative" Japanese: Another Side of the American Experience in the Mikado's Empire

ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

THE IDEA OF JAPAN as a nation of people who imitate the ways of other lands is deeply rooted in American thought. Voiced as early as 1856 in the official narrative of the Perry expedition ("The Japanese are . . . a very imitative, adaptive, and compliant people"), the idea was repeated during the Japanese diplomatic mission to the United States in 1860 ("From the inquisitive and imitative disposition of the Japanese . . . we look for some valuable results") and was rarely far from the pens of writers on Japan throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.[1] So powerful was the notion that it crossed intellectual and emotional barriers and was shared by missionaries, merchants, diplomats, journalists, teachers, and scientists—men and women who might be expected to agree on little else about this Oriental society. So pervasive was it that the resulting stereotype became as familiar as the methodical German, the amorous Frenchman, the emotional Italian, and the self-reliant American.

This image was a comfortable one. It helped underwrite arguments for Manifest Destiny and justify expansion into the Pacific by confirming the pleasant idea that the United States was in the forefront of civilized nations, helping to bring the benefits of Western life to those who were unenlightened but anxious to receive the word.[2] That the image was a dreadful oversimplification quickly

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[1] Francis Hawks, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (Washington, 1856), 359; and Boston *Daily Advertiser*, June 30, 1860, as quoted in Akira Iriye, *From Nationalism to Internationalism: U.S. Foreign Policy to 1914* (London, 1977), 43.

[2] For background on the meeting of the United States and Japan, see William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* (Baltimore, 1963); Foster Rhea Dulles, *Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan, 1791–1900* (New York, 1965); and Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American–East Asian Relations* (New York, 1967), 1–83. On the American image of Japan, see Henry F. Graff, *Bluejackets with Perry in Japan* (New York, 1952), 11–70; Levi M. Cecil, Jr., "Our Japanese Romance: The Myth of Japan in America" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1947); and James R. Bowditch, "The Impact of Japanese Culture upon the United States, 1853–1904" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1964). For the image of Japan in the Western world, see Jean-Pierre Lehmann, *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850–1905* (London, 1978).

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became apparent to those Americans who lived and worked in nineteenth-century Japan and who always found many admirable traits in the social practices of this Asian nation, which boasted more than a thousand years of recorded history. Their articles, books, letters, journals, and diaries abound with favorable responses to the skills, values, and traditions of the native culture. Some things seemed so worthwhile that admiration shaded into the desire to emulate and occasionally into the claim that Japan was a land that could teach as well as learn from the West. However idly or offhandedly made, such suggestions form a recurrent yet largely ignored theme in works on the meeting of these two nations. No doubt this is because the lessons are so slippery and difficult to define.

Both concepts—Japan as imitator and Japan as possible teacher—obviously tell more about American than about Japanese values. The former speaks volumes of pride in the Western tradition, in Christianity, republican institutions, individualism, and scientific progress; the latter reads like a series of footnotes that underline various shortcomings at home. The former is expected; the latter may come as a surprise, as indeed it did to the people who experienced Japan. Ethnocentrism was, after all, strong in the second half of the nineteenth century. Learning from Europe—adopting its institutions and being influenced by its fashions—was familiar to Americans, however much they might theoretically wish to turn their backs upon the Continent. But admiring a non-Western nation—suggesting that a land where the people were not white might have something to teach the United States—was a unique reaction in the American experience. That is what makes it worth exploring.

One should not claim too much for such an exploration. The major story of the U.S. move into the Pacific has been portrayed, quite properly, as part of the more general Western political, economic, and technological expansion that in the nineteenth century had such a great impact upon preindustrial regions of the world. A Japanese counterinfluence upon America has been noted in the realms of arts and crafts, landscape, and architecture, but such art is only the tip of the cultural iceberg, the product and reflection of a value system that provided other challenges to the Western mentality.[3] In some small measure the experience of Japan was capable of shaking the self-confidence of Americans, bringing a missionary impulse that was both religious and secular into doubt by raising questions about the definition of civilization and the nature of happiness. Japan taught the men and women who, unwittingly or not, acted out the roles of cultural imperialism that the term "barbarian" ran in two directions.

In examining this neglected side of the encounter across the Pacific, the fifty years following the Perry expedition can be treated as a unity. Each person who arrived during this period tended to discover Japan anew and then write about it in terms that were already—or should have been—familiar. Only around the turn of the century, with the growth of Japanese xenophobia, did long-term po-

[3] For aspects of Japanese influence upon the United States, see Bowditch, "The Impact of Japanese Culture"; Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York, 1963); and Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (Princeton, 1958). For more general articles pertaining to the topic, see Arthur E. Christy, ed., *The Asian Legacy in American Life* (New York, 1942).

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sitions for foreigners dwindle and the image change from that of an exotic client state to that of a potential Pacific rival. Although in this half century both nations went through major periods of industrialization—indeed, Japan leaped from feudalism to modernity—the attitudes of Americans toward imitation and their admiration for things Japanese did not appreciably change. To eyes formed in America, the social and human landscape of this Oriental society remained remarkably constant and enduring. Disagreements over its nature were less significant than a kind of consensus over what was important in Japanese civilization. Americans might divide along religious, political, and philosophical lines at home, but, no matter what their personal backgrounds and professions and regardless of their place of residence (feudal domain or capital city), Japan confronted them with the same questions and potential lessons.[4] Their reaction

[4] This article is based upon the writings of Americans who lived in Japan for at least one year and up to more than thirty years; the typical time of residence was about five years. Unlike tourists and casual visitors, such people inevitably came to know Japanese civilization in some depth and breadth, and this long-term exposure helped cause the shift in vision that they often referred to as the "lessons" of Japan. The works of short-term visitors have been drawn upon only when they were, like John La Farge or Henry T. Finck, especially sensitive and expressive people, able to understand quickly and give voice to the complexity of the cultural interaction. With the exception of La Farge, Finck, Percival Lowell, W. Sturgis Bigelow, Robert Blum, and Theodore Wores, all whose writings I have drawn upon actually worked in Japan, either for the Japanese government (as teachers or technical experts) or as missionaries or diplomats. (The line between teachers at government schools and missionaries was often very thin; some people served in both capacities—or, at least, were teachers who were also crypto-missionaries.) Obviously, those who wrote about their experiences represent only a small fraction of the Americans who served in such capacities (but I have consulted virtually every work written by such long-term residents). It is, of course, difficult to be precise about how many Americans resided in nineteenth-century Japan. Of 2,400 foreign employees of the Japanese government who have been identified, 351 were Americans; Hazel J. Jones, "The Meiji Government and Foreign Employees, 1868–1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967), 97. The situation with the missionaries is more complicated. In 1872, the year before the ban on Christianity was lifted, 49 Americans were there as Protestant missionaries; by 1905 the number had risen to either 583 or 638. But the total number of Americans who resided in Japan in that capacity has never been determined. Masayo Yamamoto, "Image-Makers of Japan: A Case Study in the Impact of the American Protestant Foreign Missionary Movement, 1859–1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1967), 85–86, 97. How many other Americans came to Japan as merchants, artists, or simple curiosity-seekers and then stayed for a long period of time cannot be determined. The Americans who left records of life in Japan were white, middle class, often college graduates, and, for the most part, engaged in professions like science, teaching, engineering, journalism, and the ministry. If their reactions cannot speak for all Americans, they were at least the kind of people who manned the command posts of middle-class culture in the classroom, pulpit, government, and press and who thought of themselves as custodians of American values. Certainly there is no indication in their writings or the available biographical data that they were in any way critical of those values before arriving in Japan. As cultural missionaries they tended to celebrate rather than denigrate the social order from which they came. It is striking that for all of the differences among them—religious, political, philosophical—their reactions to the alien culture of Japan exhibit a high degree of thematic unanimity. In addition to the items mentioned in subsequent notes, the following research collections were utilized in the preparation of this article: the Edward S. Morse Papers, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; the William Sturgis Bigelow Correspondence in the Henry Cabot Lodge Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; the Percival Lowell Correspondence in the Abbot Lawrence Lowell Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass.; the Barrett Wendell Correspondence (with Percival Lowell), the Lafcadio Hearn Papers, and the Ernest F. Fenollosa Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; the William Sturgis Bigelow Correspondence in the Papers of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; the Townsend Harris Papers, Archives of the City College of the City University of New York; the Thomas C. Mendenhall Papers, American Institute of Physics, New York City; the Lafcadio Hearn Correspondence in the Berg Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; the William E. Griffis Papers, Archibald Stevens Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.; and the Ernest F. Fenollosa Letters to Charles Lang Freer, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Additional important published accounts include the following: Horace Capron, *Japan: Some Remarks in Connection with the Visit of Horace Capron to Japan in 1871–1875* (Philadelphia, 1876); Ernest F. Fenollosa, *East and West: The Discovery of America and Other Poems* (New York, 1893), and *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2 vols. (New York, 1912); Lafcadio

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was more than a carry-over from the old cliché about the "timeless East." It strongly suggests that the essential core values of each society were little touched by political and economic change. This may, in turn, help explain why similar arguments about learning from Japan can still be made today.[5]

THE CONCEPT OF IMITATION was itself an ambiguous part of the confrontation between two cultures. In the nineteenth century the charge was double-edged, both a sneer and a compliment. To be imitative was to lack originality and inventiveness, two qualities high in the American pantheon of virtues.[6] But it also was to recognize the superiority of Western ways, to show a flexibility and intelligence not shared by all "backward" nations. Often the contrast was made with the Chinese, who maintained both a "stubborn self-sufficiency" and the curious belief that they already were the most civilized people in the world.[7] Happily, the Japanese knew better. The Perry narrative expressed the hope that in imitation might "be discovered a promise of the comparatively easy introduction of foreign customs and habits." Late in the century, when this prediction had been amply fulfilled, Lutheran missionary R. B. Peery expressed a common attitude: "The ability to imitate is a . . . fruitful source of progress, as the Japan of to-day witnesses." Scientist Edward S. Morse, first professor of zoology at the Imperial University in Tokyo, carried the notion one step farther. "Only a high civilization," he claimed, was capable of so quickly adopting foreign ways.[8]

Hearn, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (New York, 1904); Henry Heusken, *Japan Journal, 1855–1861* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964); Richard B. Hubbard, *The United States in the Far East: or, Modern Japan and the Orient* (Richmond, Va., 1899); Arthur M. Knapp, *Feudal and Modern Japan*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1897); General Charles W. LeGendre, *Progressive Japan: A Study of the Political and Social Needs of Empire* (New York, 1878); Percival Lowell, *Occult Japan: or, The Way of the Gods* (Boston, 1895); Thomas C. Mendenhall, "Japan Notes," *Ohio Educational Monthly*, 27 (1878): 401–05, 28 (1879): 75–78, 165–71, 29 (1880): 1–6, 175–82, and 30 (1881): 1–7, 97–102; Edward S. Morse, *Glimpses of China and Chinese Homes* (Boston, 1902); Alfred Parsons, "Japanese Spring," *Harper's Monthly*, 89 (1894): 103–16, "Early Summer in Japan," *ibid.*, 522–34, "Autumn in Japan," *ibid.*, 90 (1895): 767–79, and "Some Wanderings in Japan," *ibid.*, 900–13; and Townsend Harris, *Some Unpublished Letters of Townsend Harris*, ed. Shio Sakanishi (New York, 1941). Early diplomatic correspondence, particularly that of Townsend Harris, is contained in "Japan Despatches," vols. 1, 2, National Archives Microfilm Publications, T133, rolls 1–3. For a useful secondary work, see John Ashmead, Jr., "The Idea of Japan, 1853–1895: Japan as Described by Americans and Other Travellers from the West" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1951).

[5] Edwin O. Reischauer has suggested that contemporary Japan is dealing so well with the problems of modern society that it "could well serve as a model for . . . Western democracies," including the United States; Reischauer, *The Japanese* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 230. For a sociologist's exploration of this notion, see Ezra Vogel, *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). It is interesting that his analysis of Japan's immense postwar economic and social success is far more convincing than the policy recommendations with which Vogel concluded his book. It seems that today, as in the nineteenth century, the "lessons" of Japan for America remain elusive and problematic.

[6] Julia D. Carrothers, *The Sunrise Kingdom* (Philadelphia, 1879), 381; Percival Lowell, *The Soul of the Far East* (Boston, 1888), 219; and James A. B. Scherer, *Japan Today* (London, 1904), 251.

[7] W. H. Hallock, "Jaunts in Japan," *Scribner's Monthly*, July 1871, 251, as quoted in Cecil, "Our Japanese Romance," 86.

[8] Hawks, *Narrative of the Expedition*, 359; R. B. Peery, *The Gist of Japan* (New York, 1897), 64; and Edward S. Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1917), 2: 198. Sidney L. Gulick argued that imitation, rather than being proof of lack of imagination, is a trait that actually "rests on the imagination"; Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese: Social and Psychic* (New York, 1903), 79, 242. For an admiring, uncritical biography of Morse, one of the chief interpreters of Japanese culture for the United States, see Dorothy Wayman, *Edward Sylvester Morse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942).

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Not everyone agreed with this judgment, but the same issue did confront all Americans: were the Japanese really civilized? To Western eyes, the nation presented a paradox. Judged by the state of technological (and some would add religious) development, the traditional culture was primitive, yet everyone could see that Japan possessed a complex, sophisticated urban life and a rich heritage.[9] The tension resulting from this apparent contradiction raised a question for which common definitions and indexes were sorely lacking. A missionary like Mary Pruyn might insist that only when they learned to wear shoes in the house, sit on chairs at the dinner table, and use knives and forks would the Japanese be living "like civilized people," but this was distinctly a minority view.[10] Almost everyone else, grudgingly or not, acknowledged that these Orientals were in some measure civilized.

Some observers could make this acknowledgment wholeheartedly, but it was more commonly hedged with qualifications. Missionaries were apt to find the Japanese "civilized . . . but immoral," which simply meant they were not Christians.[11] Benjamin Smith Lyman, an engineer who spent eight years surveying Hokkaido's mineral resources, claimed that, if the term meant "trained adaptation and skill for human association, then the Japanese are among the most highly civilized races in the world." Breeding and esthetics were regularly used as a measure of the culture. Reverend Peery discovered the essence of these "civilized people" in "a courteous, refined manner, in a calm enjoyment of literature and the arts, in an ability to live easily and comfortably with a due regard to all the amenities of life."[12] That this civility was not merely a matter of urban or aristocratic accomplishment was apparent to those visitors who penetrated into rural regions and reported that the most savage-looking, half-naked peasants were as well mannered as upper class residents of Tokyo. In a remote area Alice Bacon, teacher at the Peeress' School in the capital city, found such gentility and comfort among rude country folk that she was led to comment, "There is certainly a high type of civilization in Japan, though differing in many important particulars from our own."[13]

Here is the crux of the encounter: because it was at once civilized and yet different from the West, Japan was disturbing to the American intellectual and emotional equilibrium. Other Asian nations might be dismissed as inferior to the West, but Japan forced people to look homeward with new eyes. Americans who lived there had not previously been critical of American culture, nor had they shown themselves sympathetic to the burgeoning intellectual criticisms of industrialism, technology, and mass society. Basically they were celebrants of

[9] Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, 89.

[10] Pruyn, *Grandmamma's Letters from Japan* (Boston, 1877), 123, 174, 212.

[11] Scherer, *Japan Today*, 44. Not all missionaries made such qualifications. Marquis Lafayette Gordon, for example, flatly termed the Japanese "a people with a high degree of civilization"; Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan* (Boston, 1892), 7.

[12] Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese: A Study of Human Nature," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 19 (1885): 133–72; and Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, 89.

[13] Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (1891; Boston, 1902), 216. Also see Percival Lowell, *Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan* (Boston, 1891), 58.

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the West whose assumptions were being disturbed.[14] Even Percival Lowell, one of the most intellectually sophisticated of them, a man who had been to Europe many times, claimed it was in the Orient where "we learn truly to criticize, examine, and realize our own way of doing things." Similar ideas could unite both the missionary mentality and its opposite. Three years after landing, the pagan Lafcadio Hearn said that the land opened "a man's eyes and mind about his own country, about conventionalisms of a hundred sorts—about false ideals and idealisms—about ethical questions."[15] Reverend Peery agreed: "The daily observance of customs, many of which are squarely opposed to our own," led to the realization "that we have not a monopoly of all that is good, convenient, and useful." Alice Bacon carried the notion to its logical conclusion, expressing directly what was implicit in the comments of others. For her, the word "civilization" itself had become impossible to define. Wistfully she reported, "I do not know what it means now as well as I did when I left home."[16]

Such comments show that the experience of Japan was powerful enough to alter perceptual and moral judgments and point toward a kind of cultural relativism. Life there forced Americans into a paradigm shift, a change of world view, a broader definition of what it meant to be civilized. Not that the questions this shift encouraged were answered systematically or pursued in depth. Visitors had neither the time nor the training to undertake extended social analysis. None went to the Orient as a research scholar, and, with the exception of a few wealthy individuals like Lowell, they were in Asia primarily to work—to teach, spread the gospel, or labor for the government in some technical field. The volumes they wrote tend to be descriptive rather than analytic, and comments on cultural differences are generally sandwiched among endless and repetitive observations on the beauties of cherry blossoms and Mount Fuji or the daily mishaps of Westerners enduring the hazards of wild rickshaw rides or braving the taste of raw fish.

The shift of vision touched all spheres of life, from the practical to the esthetic, from the mundane to the philosophic, from the trivial to the profound. It could be fed by the surprising insight that chopsticks were cheaper and more hygenic and practical than knives and forks or that carpenters used their tools more skillfully than their American counterparts. It could account for the way in which standards of beauty subtly altered, so that the blond beards, blue eyes,

[14] It is worth noting that Henry Adams, perhaps the major American intellectual to travel to the Orient in this period and a man deeply worried about late nineteenth-century life, was not made more critical of the West by his exposure to Japan. In fact, he did not even take the Japanese seriously. As he wrote to John Hay on July 9, 1886, "This is a child's country. Men, women, and children are taken out of the fairy books. . . . Nothing is serious; nothing is taken seriously." Adams, *The Selected Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Arvin Newton (New York, 1951), 94.

[15] Lowell, *Chosön: The Land of the Morning Calm* (Boston, 1886), 107; and Hearn to Basil Hall Chamberlain, May 12, 1893, in Hearn, *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, ed. Elizabeth Bisland (Boston, 1910), 97. For a good analysis of Lowell's Japanese years, see Robert S. Ellwood, "Percival Lowell's Journey to the East," *Sewanee Review*, 78 (1970): 285–309. For brief accounts of this aspect of his career, also see A. Lawrence Lowell, *Biography of Percival Lowell* (New York, 1935); and Ferris Greenslet, *The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds* (Boston, 1946). The secondary literature on Hearn, the best known of all of the writers on Japan, is large; for the most satisfactory biography, see Elizabeth Stevenson, *Lafcadio Hearn* (New York, 1961).

[16] Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, 69; and Bacon, *A Japanese Interior* (Boston, 1893), 228.

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and pale skin of Western men could seem "ugly" and "hideous" and Western women could appear "ungainly, fierce, aggressive, and awkward among the small, mild, shrinking, and graceful Japanese ladies."[17] It could explain why a person who began by finding the native music discordant and noisy would end by attempting to master traditional singing forms. It could lead to the feeling that eventually overtook many visitors, if only briefly, that "there are many lessons which we might profitably learn from them."[18]

This realization proved quite startling. No matter what their roles—professor, doctor, missionary, diplomat, or engineer—virtually all Americans saw themselves as teachers of Western ways. Usually they arrived as did William Elliot Griffis, who came to the remote town of Fukui as a lecturer at a school for young samurai, feeling almost hopeless about "how long it would require to civilize such 'barbarians.' " This attitude often gave way to the revelation that overtook Morse in Tokyo: "A foreigner, after remaining a few months in Japan, slowly begins to realize that, whereas he thought he could teach the Japanese everything, he finds, to his amazement and chagrin, that those virtues or attributes which, under the name of humanity are the burden of our moral teaching at home, the Japanese seem to be born with." Griffis put it more simply. A few months in Fukui taught him that education was a two-way street, for his sword-bearing charges were, he admitted, "quite able to instruct me in many things."[19]

To insist on the existence of such lessons was easier than to specify their nature or content. Journalist Henry T. Finck, one of the few short-time visitors to pursue the theme, prefaced a book with the flat statement, "The Japanese have as much to teach us as we have to teach them, and . . . what they can offer us is, on the whole, of a higher and nobler order than we can offer them. Japanese civilization is based on altruism, ours on egotism." Bold as was this assertion, it was more an insight than a lesson, and the volume that followed it contained no clues as to how such altruism might be made operative in the West. This failing was not Finck's alone. Morse concluded his published journal with the statement, "We have much to learn from Japanese life," but in the preceding nine hundred pages he had only a few direct hints as to just what might be learned.[20] Griffis wrote of Japan as teacher for more than forty years before getting around to a specific enumeration of its lessons.[21]

[17] William Elliot Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (9th ed., New York, 1876), 549; and Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 51.

[18] Lyman Abbot, "Pictures of the Japanese," *Harper's*, 39 (1869): 322, as quoted in Cecil, "Our Japanese Romance," 80. Edward S. Morse, who found Japanese carpenters to be very skilled and chopsticks practical, also went from hating the sound of the native music to studying Noh drama singing; Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (1885; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., 1972), 36, and *Japan Day by Day*, 2: 103, 1: 401–02, 2: 401.

[19] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 434; and Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 1: 44. For a brief study of Griffis, the most prolific of all writers on Japan, see Edward R. Beauchamp, *An American Teacher in Early Meiji Japan* (Honolulu, 1976).

[20] Finck, *Lotos-Time in Japan* (New York, 1895), ix; and Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 2: 435.

[21] Griffis proposed to explore those elements in Japanese civilization "from and by which we Americans have profited, whether by direct borrowing or through inspiring incentive"; Griffis, *Some of Japan's Contributions to Civilization: Direct and Indirect* (New York, 1926), 6. Though he tried to be systematic, the work dwelt more on those things in which Japan excelled than on those things that she had taught to the world. He emphasized obvious elements—skill in art, crafts, gardening, and interior decoration along with cleanliness, courtesy, filial

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The lessons were both difficult to conceptualize and confront directly because they did not fit the Western model for learning. The United States could help carry to the Orient such broad but impersonal notions as technology, republicanism, Christianity, and progress, ideas that could be implemented by governmental action aimed at institutional change. Japan's teachings were of a different order, at once more personal and more abstract. No government could promote them because they arose from the daily give-and-take of life in an unfamiliar society. To know how deeply they really concerned those who perceived them is difficult; certainly, learning from Japan carried none of the urgency felt by the Japanese, who adopted Western ways to escape the fate of China and other exploited countries. The lack of a practical motive makes the persistence of the "lessons" theme all the more surprising and noteworthy.

In truth, the word "lesson" is not entirely appropriate. Lacking a vocabulary to describe the shift of vision they had undergone, Americans seized upon the familiar language of education in an attempt to understand their experiences. In their works the notion of "lessons" usually arises in the context of comparisons between the two cultures. Every time Japanese traits—respect for elders, cleanliness, or honesty, for example—are weighed against comparable traits of Americans that are found wanting, a kind of "lesson" is being suggested. Sometimes the suggestion is overt, sometimes covert, but, either way, the word "lesson" is inadequate to carry the full burden of the experience it is supposed to describe. For this reason the "lessons" are usually just mentioned and then dropped, rather than being generalized or explored in detail. Indeed, Americans were baffled by the problem of how the things they admired in Japan might be individually learned, let alone carried home for the benefit of the nation at large.

COMPARISON COULD HOVER FOREVER just at the edge of becoming a "lesson." This was true of a characteristic mentioned with frequency and wonderment—the Japanese were not only a happy people but, in the words of the well-traveled and critical Lowell, "among the happiest on the face of the globe."[22] So marvelous did this seem that residents often expressed doubts over the process of Westernization they were helping to hasten. Such dissent could be heard in the most unlikely places, voiced not by poets and seekers of the exotic but by solid Christians and outspoken patriots. The first U.S. resident, Consul Townsend Harris, exclaimed after living in Shimoda for a year, "I sometimes doubt whether the opening of Japan to foreign influences will promote the general happiness of these people. It is more like the golden age of simplicity and honesty than I have ever seen in any other country."[23] General Horace Capron, who

piety, and ability to change. Even so, the "contributions" remained elusive. It was obvious that, however highly he admired Japan, Griffis himself was not too clear on how its lessons could be learned.

[22] Lowell, *Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan*, 141.

[23] Harris, *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris*, ed. Mario Emilio Cosenza (New York, 1930), 429. There is no good, critical biography of Harris, but two studies provide some useful background: William E. Griffis,

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resigned as U.S. commissioner of agriculture to become overseer of Hokkaido development, was second to none in advocating the holy trinity of science, progress, and Christianity. Yet his first few weeks in Japan led him to say in 1872, "Truly these are a happy people having few wants and these easily supplied," and to doubt that intercourse with "outside barbarians" from the West could in any way augment that happiness.[24] That this was more than simply rural nostalgia or a longing for the Edenic garden is shown by the persistence of such opinions long after Japan's industrialization program was well under way. In the late 1890s men as different as Peery and Hearn could both speak enthusiastically of lightheartedness and joy as primary national characteristics of the Japanese.

To citizens of a land where the pursuit of happiness was supposed to be a fundamental goal, perhaps this characteristic should not have seemed so surprising. But what Americans had a license to pursue, the Japanese had apparently achieved—and had done so contrary to American expectations. Japanese happiness arose neither from individual liberty nor the acquisition of wealth. That the land had basically an autocratic, hierarchical social order was clear to all; so was the relative unimportance of material goods in the traditional scheme of values. This meant that the Japanese had difficulty understanding "the rush and struggle for riches in America." Compared to any Western land, Japan was poor, but the individual seemed content with little, and the poorest peasants appeared to the visitor to be "light-hearted, cheerful, and even happy."[25]

These judgments were confirmed both by daily behavior and during the many festivals of the native calendar. The Japanese knew how to work hard, but they also knew how to relax and play as well. In an instant they were capable of going from one state to the other, and, as Lyman reported, "even in business consultations there is always a great deal of fun and laughter." Holidays were wholly devoid of what artist Robert Blum termed the "Puritan solemnity" found at home. On these occasions people enjoyed playing in the streets, carousing, eating, and getting drunk. Unlike Americans in this condition, they were neither quarrelsome nor aggressive; indeed, drunken men were "inclined to sing instead of fight." Women and children on holiday outings were free of worries that bothered their counterparts at home, for here there was no rowdy or uncouth behavior. On a New Year's day of revelry in Tokyo, Capron wrote, "Not one angry gesture or look did I see in my long rambles through the crowded streets, but all was cheerfulness and good nature."[26]

Townsend Harris: First American Envoy in Japan (Boston, 1895); and Carl Crow, *Harris of Japan* (London, 1939). For a detailed critique of his negotiations with the Japanese, see Oliver Statler, *Shimoda Story* (New York, 1969).

[24] Capron, "Memoirs," 2 (Ann Arbor, Mich., xerographic reproduction of typescript): 51. For a portion of these memoirs, along with other biographical material, see Merritt Starr, "General Horace Capron, 1804–1885," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 18 (1925): 259–349; and, for an overview of Capron's work in Japan, see John A. Harrison, "The Capron Mission and the Colonization of Hokkaido, 1868–75," *Agricultural History*, 25 (1951): 135–42.

[25] Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 110, 199.

[26] Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," 147; Blum, "An Artist in Japan," *Scribner's Monthly*, 13 (1893): 746; Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 1: 318; and Capron, "Memoirs," 51. Townsend Harris was also struck by the good holiday behavior and lack of quarrelsome drunks; Harris, *The Complete Journal*, 303.

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If an emphasis on Japanese happiness suggests a deficiency of that characteristic at home, only Hearn, who later became a Japanese citizen, was bold enough to make the comparison explicit: "The Japanese are not very serious . . . and, in the same proportion . . . that they are less serious, they are more happy. . . . We serious folk of the West cannot call ourselves very happy." In a similar vein, Reverend Sidney Gulick, a missionary for almost twenty years, ruminated about the West: "Developed races increasingly discover the seriousness of living, and become correspondingly reflective, if not positively gloomy."[27] The cause of Japanese happiness was difficult to explain. It was possible to retreat into vague generalities about Japanese society being somehow lighter and brighter, at once less immense and heavy than that of America, but mostly this argument seems to be lifted from comparisons of architecture. The sources of happiness may have been special wisdom about human nature. It was reported that, unlike Westerners, Japanese knew how to live for the moment; what was more, claimed George T. Ladd, a missionary and a teacher, they seemed to understand "the need of every human soul to a certain amount of rest, recreation, and time for meditation."[28]

Happiness was not just difficult to explain but impossible to learn, because it obviously arose from an entire social order and comprised a unique, interlocking set of expectations and fulfillments. When people said the Japanese were less serious than Westerners, or more content with a minimal amount of material goods, or more ready to play and relax, the implicit comparison was with the feverish economic scramble underway in the United States. This phenomenon startled European visitors and caused fears among American doctors, decades before the work of Freud, that modern life led not merely to repressive discontents but directly toward insanity for overly competitive males.[29] Americans in Japan might be especially sensitive to this because so many of them—as ministers, doctors, artists, teachers, and diplomats—were far enough removed from the speculative, business economy to glimpse its human costs. An admiration for Japanese happiness covertly expressed a desire for something different at home, but they were too cognizant of the demands of their own social order to see how change could occur. For Americans the kingdom of simple pleasures could seem more remote than that of heaven.

THERE WAS MORE THAN HAPPINESS to admire in Japanese society. The continuum of favorable responses was so broad and diverse that it is no exaggeration to say that almost any behavior pattern, tradition, or institution won plaudits from some foreign resident. To make sense of these encomiums it is necessary to explore those topics that repeatedly drew the attention of Americans. One clear focus was the people, the actions and beliefs of the children and the men and

[27] Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, 2 (Boston, 1894): 656; and Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, 293.

[28] Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, 106; Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," 147–48; and Ladd, *Rare Days in Japan* (New York, 1910), 49.

[29] G. J. Barker-Benfield, "The Spermatic Economy: A Nineteenth-Century View of Sexuality," in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (2d ed., New York, 1978), 375–76.

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women encountered in daily life. Beyond this emphasis lay the more abstract realms of esthetics, manners, morals, and religion, so different in their origin and practice from their Western counterparts. Little unanimity was reached on these topics, but even the disagreements among observers help underscore the potential lessons of Japan.

On one thing every foreigner could agree: the Japanese were blessed with the most marvelous children in the world, youngsters who combined apparently incompatible traits. Universally they were reported to be happy, joyous, and fun-loving, yet well behaved, even-tempered, polite, and docile. At work or play, at home or school, they were never seen to cry, sulk, make demands, or provoke parents into disciplinary actions. That they were, in artist John La Farge's words, "one of the charms of Japan," nobody could doubt. These charms and childhood virtues carried into the classroom, where the Japanese became students who were sober, serious, hard-working, and respectful of authority. American professors found them most rewarding to teach. Thomas C. Mendenhall, longtime Ohio State University faculty member and first professor of physics at the Imperial University, expressed the general reaction when he recalled, "I cannot but look upon my three years with these well-mannered, good-tempered, ambitious, and intellectually strong young men as being . . . the pleasantest and best of all my professional years."[30]

Obviously things were very different in the United States. However one cared to rate behavior, American youngsters and students did not score well. To Alice Bacon, Oriental children seemed "the product of a more perfect civilization than our own." Children at home exhibited such "savagery and barbarian" behavior that ten to fifteen years were consumed "in one long struggle to acquire a coating of good manners." Edward Morse was more blunt. Japan taught him that "we probably have the worst mannered children in the civilized world," and he pointed out that the same ill behavior continued through school and into college life. Even a missionary who feared for the souls of young "idolators" could not refrain from drawing a lesson for readers at home. Noting that native children could play all day without crying, quarreling, or even looking cross, Pruyn asked: "Do you not think little Christian children learn something from them in all this?"[31]

No doubt adults could as well, but lessons that might seem obvious to a later generation largely escaped their attention. Japanese parents, it was reported, were unfailingly indulgent; they pampered and petted children, showered them with ceaseless affection, and never used corporal punishment; indeed, the rod had been forbidden in public schools. Rarely, however, was this "uniformly gentle and courteous treatment" connected either to good behavior or joyful spirits.[32] Instead, surprise was expressed that youngsters had not been spoiled and explanations were sought elsewhere. One missionary teacher, Arthur C.

[30] La Farge, *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (New York, 1903), 232; and Mendenhall, "Diaries," 4, American Institute of Physics, Archives, New York City, Thomas C. Mendenhall Collection, Box 19, 148–49.

[31] Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 15; Morse, *On the Importance of Good Manners* (Boston, 1894), 18; and Pruyn, *Grandmamma's Letters from Japan*, 24.

[32] Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 15. She was one of the few observers to suggest that the loving behavior of adults toward children was related to the good behavior of the youngsters.

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Maclay, thought that the "non-irritating" native diet was a cause of "serene . . . temperaments," but heredity was more frequently invoked. Benjamin Lyman described the "inheritance of many generations" as responsible for "gentle" dispositions. Pruyn flatly said of young Japanese, "I am sure there are no others who are naturally so good."[33]

For nineteenth-century Americans, both male and female, one of the supreme tests of a civilization was the treatment of women, their social status and their purity.[34] On both scores Japan presented a confusing picture. American men tended to rhapsodize over their charms ("The fairest sight in Japan are Japan's fair daughters") or enumerate their beauties ("Nowhere on four continents have I seen eyes, black and brown, more lovely in color . . . nowhere arms and busts more beautifully rounded; nowhere lips more refined and inviting").[35] Less smitten by physical attraction, American women did join in a general chorus of praise for young ladies as unfailingly gentle, diligent, modest, and graceful and for older ones as superb mothers and housekeepers. Griffis, in fact, found the wives so ideal that he guiltily forced his admiration into a dependent clause: "If unvarying obedience, acquiescence, submission, and utter absorption of her personality into that of her husband constitute the idea of the perfect woman, then the Japanese married women approach so near that idea as to be practically perfect."[36]

Opinion was divided, however, with regard to their social status. It was a commonplace of the time that "heathen women are under a curse," and the secular part of that curse was the belief that the social position of women was always low in non-Christian lands.[37] Praised for being ahead of other Asian nations in this regard (especially China, where female feet were bound), Japan was still a male-oriented society in which women had few rights or opportunities for self-development. Traditional wisdom said they should always obey men—their fathers when young, their husbands when married, and their sons when widowed. Religious-minded Americans deplored such attitudes and looked forward to the day when the adoption of Christianity would raise them to the level of Western women. Others found the picture more complex. It was possible to perceive female subjugation as intimately connected to those many traits like "humility and meekness" that seemed "enchanting." So much sweeter and more natural than her American sister did Lafcadio Hearn find the Japanese woman that his faith in basic Western doctrines was shaken: "If this be the result of suppression and oppression—then these are not altogether bad."[38]

Sexual behavior was another divisive issue. Some missionary types liked to deny that the Japanese had any conception of chastity—or even a native word for the concept—but most of their coreligionists deplored this narrow-minded

[33] Maclay, *A Budget of Letters from Japan* (New York, 1886), 347; Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," 163; and Pruyn, *Grandmamma's Letters from Japan*, 83.

[34] Bowditch, "The Impact of Japanese Culture," 75.

[35] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 359; and Finck, *Lotos-Time in Japan*, 75.

[36] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 559.

[37] Carrothers, *The Sunrise Kingdom*, 397. Also see Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 555.

[38] Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," 153; and Hearn to Basil Hall Chamberlain, 1891, in Elizabeth Bisland, ed., *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, 2 (Boston, 1906): 36.

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Figure 1: Geisha playing koto and samisen. "These good-natured, witty, and sprightly girls . . . are certainly . . . far more entertaining than the usual run of girls and women."—Edward S. Morse. Photograph; reproduced from Henry T. Finck, *Lotus-Time in Japan* (New York, 1898), 264a.

attitude.[39] That chastity was a virtue for Japanese women seemed clear to most Americans; that it was not necessarily the highest virtue was equally apparent. If the native girl, as Bacon pointed out, "grows to womanhood no less pure and modest than our own girls," it was nonetheless true that sometimes she was called upon to sacrifice that modesty. Filial piety took precedence over purity, and cases of girls sold into prostitution or willingly entering it to support parents held an immense fascination. One might see these practices as evidence that such women were "inwardly unclean," but it could be more generously construed as an example of their virtue: "few women in any country do their duty, as they see it, more nobly, more single-mindedly, and more satisfactorily to those about them, than the women of Japan."[40]

Duty versus chastity was only one of many problems that Japanese sexual customs raised for those with a Victorian mentality. Legalized prostitution, the practice of taking more than one "wife," the *geisha*—all confronted Americans with moral dilemmas. It is little wonder that many chose to ignore these customs in print or to hint obliquely about heathen lubricity, immorality, and lack of shame. More surprising is the willingness of some Americans to excuse or defend such institutions. Geographically confining prostitution to one, fenced area, called the *Yoshiwara* in Tokyo, seemed a sensible way of dealing with the "social evil" that even Christian nations had been unable to eradicate. At least the

[39] Hearn, *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life* (1896; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., 1972), 148; and Scherer, *Japan Today*, 109.

[40] Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 179; and Scherer, *Japan Today*, 109.

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Yoshiwara meant that people had to seek out such vice rather than be confronted by it at every corner. As Griffis said, "A man may live for years in a Japanese city and see none of the moral leprosy, such as nightly floods Broadway."[41]

Inside the walls of the *Yoshiwara* could be found plenty of misery and degradation, but there also seemed to be more hope than in comparable Western settings. Raphael Pumpelly, a mining engineer from Harvard, was among those who noticed that, because girls entered prostitution in obedience to the tenets of filial piety, they were not considered morally to blame or viewed as pariahs. Since their years of service were limited by contract and their proprietor was "obliged to have them instructed in every branch of female education," they were more likely than their sisters in the West to end up marrying and living respectable lives. The same was true of *geisha.* To some Western eyes these ladies who entertained at dinners and parties with song, dance, and wit might appear morally suspect, but all except the most severely religious found them irresistible. Finck called them "the brightest and most accomplished of all Japanese women," while Morse made it sound as if the United States would benefit from importing a few: "In our country it is a common experience for us to invite some young lady to dinner solely for the purpose of having things go off pleasantly, but we do not pay her. In Japan it is a profession, and these good-natured, witty, and sprightly girls . . . are certainly . . . far more entertaining than the usual run of girls and women."[42]

The questions raised by adult males were deeper and more elusive than those of sexual behavior; they concerned the notion of identity. Try as they might, Americans had difficulty bringing the behavior of Japanese men into focus. Lyman caught the two sides of the issue when he wrote, "They are children in enlightenment [and] . . . they are—not in a bad sense—women in character." This childish element was shown in their good humor, lack of seriousness, and love of fun. So many games did men share with children that Griffis saw them as "a nation of players" and explained, "We frequently see full-grown and able-bodied natives indulging in amusements which the men of the West lay aside with their pinafores, or when their curls are cut."[43] The female side of male character was both more pervasive and more difficult to define. It began with attire, since Japanese men wore robes and could seem to flutter about like women; it was fed because they were often so accommodating and agreeable and in normal social intercourse had such difficulty saying "No." Most important, it was bolstered by their love of culture and etiquette. Japanese men were soft-spoken and polite; they moved with grace and delicacy; they enjoyed flowers and gardens; they wrote poetry and painted; and they indulged in exquisite art forms like dwarfing trees, flower arranging, and tea ceremony.

Since playfulness and estheticism were hardly an accepted part of the U.S. definition of masculinity, it is little wonder that Japan proved simultaneously

[41] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 556.

[42] Pumpelly, *Across America and Asia* (New York, 1870), 135; Finck, *Lotos-Time in Japan*, 76; and Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 2: 353.

[43] Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," 170; and Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 452–53. On playing, also see Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, 115; and Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 1: 228–29.

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Figure 2: Artist painting mural in a brothel. "The artistic appreciation of the masses there is something astonishing to us."—Percival Lowell. Wood-block print; reproduced from J. E. de Becker, *The Nightless City* ([3d ed.] London [1905]), 14a.

attractive and threatening to American males. The easiest way to meet the challenge was to ignore it, to leave the paradoxes of behavior unexplained. If this was the common strategy, some of those most attracted by the native culture found it necessary to justify themselves. In his section on games, Griffis noted that, if Westerners thought Japanese men childish for loving to play, they must remember that the Oriental, "from the pinnacle of his lofty and, to him, immeasurably elevated civilization, looks down upon our manly sports with contempt." Morse, who was willing to expand his own sphere of activities by collecting pottery and studying two delicate art forms, Noh drama singing and tea ceremony, was made so nervous by this that he was led to assert more than once that a passion for esthetics did not make men "effeminate." Japanese males might be slight and delicate when "compared to the robust and aggressive Anglo-Saxon," but they were fearsome warriors, men of "intrepid bravery and fiery courage" who in battle exhibited "reckless bravery."[44] Support by normally pacific types for Japan's expansionist exploits may be seen in the same light. The victory over China in 1895 could be justified as a step in spreading Western ways to the mainland, but part of the impulse to praise the military appears to derive from an attempt to show that Japanese men, who could be moved to tears by a poem or go into raptures over the perfection of a cherry blossom, also knew how to kill and be killed.[45]

[44] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 453; and Morse, *On the Importance of Good Manners*, 22.

[45] Scherer, *Japan Today*, 283–323; Hearn, *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, 87–108; and Ernest F. Fenollosa, "The Coming Fusion of East and West," *Harper's*, 98 (December 1898): 115–22.

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The involvement of men in esthetic concerns was one indication that the Japanese were a people to whom beauty was more important than truth. They were "a race of beauty-worshippers," a people who drew no sharp line between the loveliness of nature and that of art. Sensitive to the outdoors, to the change of seasons and the visual delights of landscape and foliage, they did not—like Americans—hide scenery behind "huge signs for liver troubles, or . . . other vulgar advertisements." Instead, they turned mountains and forests into gods and improved upon the natural world by making gardening into a major art form. Japan was a land where "day-laborers stand and gaze for a long time at a beautiful sunset or go into raptures over a dwarfed cherry-bush just putting forth its tiny buds" and where the desks of schoolboys were brightened by tasteful bouquets of flowers. When cherry trees bloomed, lotuses flowered, or maples turned red, newspapers listed the best viewing sites and people left work for seasonal parties. Ladd voiced the inevitable conclusion drawn from such activities: "There is no nation in Europe or America to whom the Japanese may not give valuable lessons in the art of the quiet, soothing, and refining enjoyment of nature and of out-of-doors recreations."[46]

Artists were so esteemed and the quality of their work appeared so high that both those Americans who were almost innocent of artistic interests and those with developed taste couched their reactions in superlatives. It was common to say that the Japanese possessed an "artistic sense unequaled perhaps in any other people" or to state flatly that they were "the greatest artists in the world." The sophisticated Hearn could not help making a comparison: "Their art is as far in advance of our art as old Greek art was superior to that of the earliest European art-gropings. . . . *We* are the barbarians." If this statement was meant to characterize the West in general, how much more appropriate was it for the United States, where art might be honored in certain narrow upper-class circles but was certainly of little concern to the population at large. In Japan, by contrast, love of artwork pervaded the entire population, and no home was so poor that it did not contain a scroll or print or lovely vase. The land was a kind of esthetic democracy, one that Lowell described by saying, "The artistic appreciation of the masses there is something astonishing to us, accustomed to our immense intellectual differences between man and man."[47]

One reason for this reaction was that, unlike Americans, Japanese did not separate the practical from the artistic; both were part of everyday life. Due to "the almost infinite superiority of Japanese artisans over their European fellow-craftsmen," the most common objects and tools achieved a level of design and ornamentation unknown in America. At home the words "cheap" and "nasty" had become almost synonymous, and the general level of decoration was "so hideous that a poor person must be content either to be surrounded by the worst possible taste or to purchase only such furnishings and utensils as are entirely

[46] Scherer, *Japan Today*, 37; Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 2: 416; Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, 59; and Ladd, *Rare Days in Japan*, 131.

[47] Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan*, 6; Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 1: 263; Hearn to Elizabeth Bisland, 1890, in Bisland, *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, 3; and Lowell, *The Soul of the Far East*, 151.

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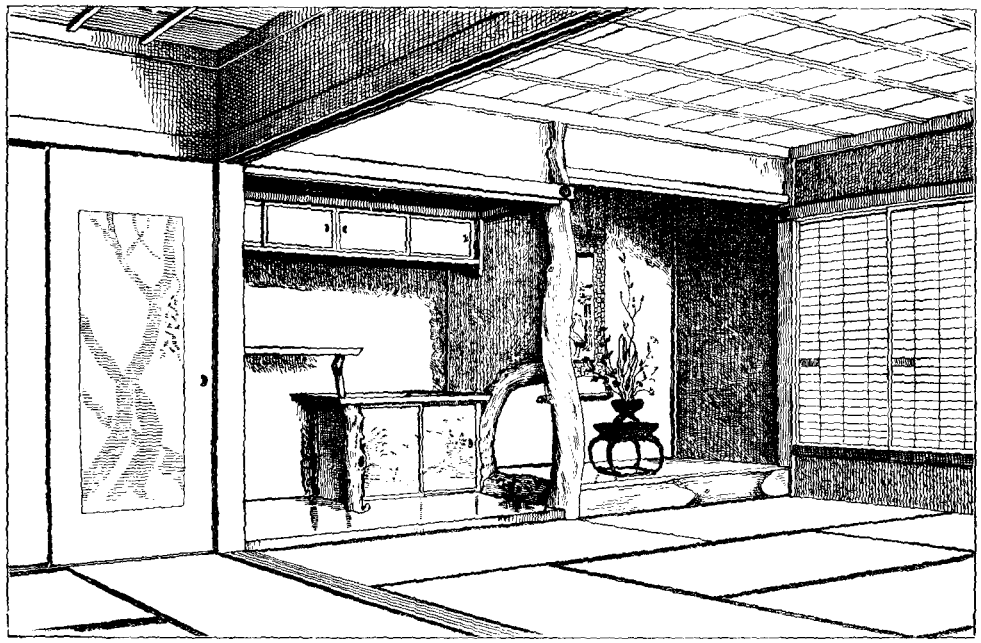


Figure 3: Traditional Japanese guest room. "A welcome relief from the cluttered Victorian household."—Theodore Wores. Drawing by Edward S. Morse; reproduced from Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (New York, 1895), 109.

without decoration of any kind." In Japan it was quite the reverse; indeed, some thought it impossible for them to produce anything that was not graceful and artistic. The cheapest cotton prints and towels, the common earthenware pots and teacups, the iron kettles and bamboo umbrellas, even the washbasins and wooden latrines all attested to the "universal sense of beauty among the people." Much of this beauty of utility showed in the home and made for a welcome relief from the cluttered Victorian household in which, as Theodore Wores complained, "half the objects that decorate our crowded rooms serve no useful purpose." There was even a practical side to such widespread artistry. Beauty had upon a poor Japanese, in Alice Bacon's estimation, "a civilizing and refining effect" that made him "in many ways the superior of the American day laborer."[48]

Another sphere in which none could deny that the Japanese surpassed Americans—if not all other peoples—was that of breeding. What General Capron said of the upper classes ("There are no people in the world of more gentle and retiring manners") most observers were willing to grant to the nation as a whole. Enumerating the differences between the two countries, missionary doctor Marquis Lafayette Gordon paid homage to the "exceedingly formal and elaborate code of politeness which is an integral part of their national life." E. Warren Clark, missionary teacher in Shizuoka for four years, asserted, "They certainly excel us in politeness, gentleness, obedience to parents." This latter characteristic drew much comment. To people from a land where leaving home and surpass-

[48] Lowell, *The Soul of the Far East*, 49; Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 195–96; and Wores, "An American Artist in Japan," *The Century (Illustrated Monthly)*, 38 (1889): 677.

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ing the accomplishments of one's parents was almost a first principle of life, the Japanese observance of the Fifth Commandment could seem exemplary. Bacon pointed out that in Japan "an aged parent is never a burden, is treated by all with the greatest love and tenderness. . . . Young America may learn a salutary lesson by the study of the place that old people occupy in the home."[49]

The treatment of parents overlaps the realm of morals. Here Americans were faced with perplexing issues. They could see with Reverend John H. De Forest that the Japanese possessed "a love of morality," but its basis and nature were subject to debate. Clearly, most of the virtues were identical to those preached by Christianity. The Japanese were universally praised as being self-controlled, simple, faithful, stoic, frugal, orderly, neat, clean, loyal, and, in the words of journalist Edward H. House, "innocent of crime" against both people and property. Personal violence and murder, unless in political causes, were almost unknown. Women and children could travel about unmolested, for one was "safer in the wilder regions of Japan at any hour, night or day, than in the quiet streets of Salem, or any other city in our country." Standards of honesty were so high that no locks barred the doors of homes or inns and merchants could leave storefronts unattended, confident that customers would pay for whatever they took. By contrast, as Edward S. Morse pointed out, a Japanese coming to America would think himself in a "land of thieves," for he would find "dippers chained to the fountain, thermometers screwed to the wall, doormats fastened to the steps, and inside every hotel various devices to prevent the stealing of soap and towels."[50] Conclusions drawn from such examples seemed to escape most missionaries, but people like Hearn and Lowell pointed out the irony: the Japanese actually adhered to their moral code, practicing what Christians often only preached.[51]

From a Christian point of view Japanese morality was deficient in some respects; temperance, male chastity, and absolute truthfulness did not seem to be considered virtues.[52] Much more interesting and important were the different standards of modesty. No American could fail to comment on the propensity of Japanese men and women to strip in hot weather, just as none could ignore the institution of the public bath, where both sexes mingled openly and without apparent shame. Victorian attitudes toward the human body might ensure that teacher Julia D. Carrothers would find "depravity" rife at a hot springs resort, but it does not explain why so many missionaries were willing to excuse a practice that was considered unthinkable, even insane, at home. It was all very well for an artist like Blum to speak of "quiet dignity in a loin cloth" or one like La Farge not to be shocked by "indifference to nudity," but what would an Ameri-

[49] Capron, "Memoirs," 302; Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan*, 29; Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan* (New York, 1878), 222; and Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 109. For the Japanese treatment of parents, also see Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, 249.

[50] De Forest, *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom* (New York, 1904), 59–60; House, *Japanese Episodes* (Boston, 1881), 28; and Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 1: 112, 2: 266, and *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, 249.

[51] Hearn to Basil Hall Chamberlain, August 27, 1891, in Hearn, *The Japanese Letters*, 14; and Lowell, *The Soul of the Far East*, 146.

[52] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 569; and De Forest, *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, 61.

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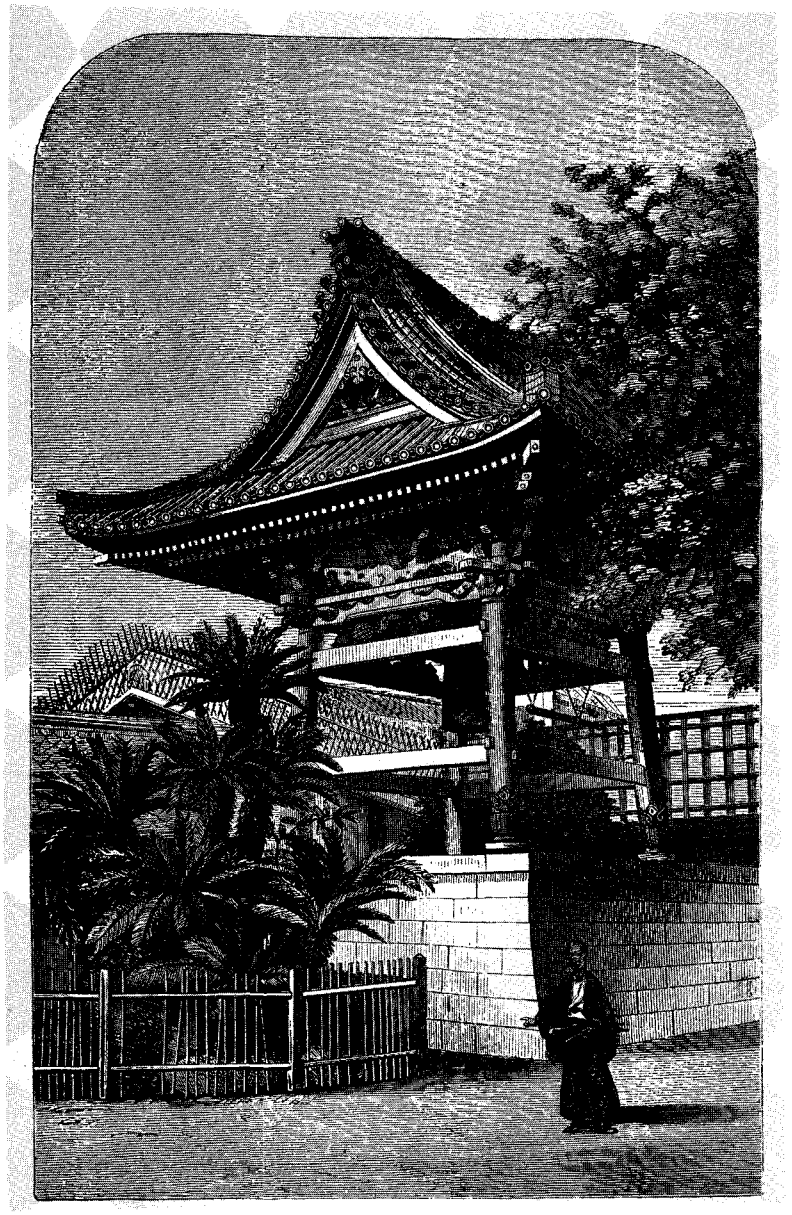


Figure 4: Belfry of a Buddhist Temple in Ōsaka. "Even Christian missionaries cannot fail to commend . . . [Buddhism's] humanizing influence."—Julia D. Carrothers. Etching from a photograph in Rutherford Alcock, *Three Years in Japan*; reproduced from William E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* ([2d ed.] New York, 1877), 172.

can congregation have made of Griffis's comment that young ladies stripped to the waist might be like "Eve before the fall"? The usual explanation was that whatever people at home might think, the public bath was not a site of erotic and orgiastic encounters but a place devoted to cleanliness and sociability, all undertaken "with the utmost decorum and politeness."[53]

More than any other issue, that of public nudity in baths seemed to push Americans toward cultural relativism. When a woman "gracefully, and without

[53] Carrothers, *Kesa and Saijiro* (New York, 1888), 326; Blum, "An Artist in Japan," 402; La Farge, *An Artist's Letters from Japan*, 35; Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 529; and Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," 161.

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the slightest embarrassment," stepped out of a tub to offer her place to Raphael Pumpelly, he could only comment, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" Joined in a tub by an unself-conscious and mixed group, Gulick dodged any judgment by denying that "purity of life" had anything to do with such behavior. It was Peery who spelled out the full implications of such attitudes: "The moral ideas and teaching to which they have been accustomed from childhood are so different from our own that they could not be expected to approximate our standards. Judged by the ideas of the West, they are lacking in morality; but from their own standpoint they are a moral people." Understanding and approval were different matters. Unable to accept Japanese standards as "true," Peery at least reported that their basis was far different from those of the West, where morality was tied up with religion and the individual's "relation to the infinite and eternal father." In Japan "the supreme duty is not to the self, but to the organization of which one is but a part—that is, to the family or to the state."[54]

Japan's religious practices were as difficult to understand as its hierarchical, group-oriented morality. Most confusing was the Japanese adherence to at least two, and perhaps three, faiths. One of them, the doctrines of Confucius, contained little spiritual substance and was usually discussed as the source of the ethical behavior both familiar and alien. Shinto and Buddhism were more like real religions, though they were generally regarded as shallow compared to the True Faith. It was possible to admit that, "so far as external appearances go, the average home in Japan is far more religious than the average home in enlightened England or America" or to credit the Japanese with genuine "religious aspiration" and still to insist that such aspirations were not as high as those in the West. Repeatedly Americans—and not just missionaries—argued that the Japanese needed Christianity to expand their souls, purify their morals, ennoble their lives, and bring them immortality. Griffis presented a secular need for such a spiritual change. It was impossible to "appropriate the fruits" of a civilization without the root; thus, only by becoming Christian could Japan successfully assimilate modern social and scientific practices and avoid being swept out of existence by "the superior aggressive nations of the West."[55]

Despite such general beliefs, there was much to praise in Japanese religion. Complaints about immoral priests and pity for unenlightened heathens were rarer than opinions like that of De Forest, who implored, "Let us glory in all the good there is in these imperfect religions."[56] Shinto, which included a form of ancestor worship, was viewed as a powerful bond holding the nation together; even more, it was a rare "primitive" religion in that it was free from the "degrading" practices that marred so many others. Buddhism was believed to be intimately connected to Japanese values such as gentleness, reverence, and high

[54] Pumpelly, *Across America and Asia*, 137; Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, 274; and Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, 108–10. This group-oriented morality of the Japanese accounted for many of those practices that Americans did not like. An indifference to truth or chastity as absolute values obviously arises when the group is the source of moral values.

[55] Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, 292, 294; and Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 578.

[56] De Forest, *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, 87. Also see Maclay, *A Budget of Letters from Japan*, 317; and Pruyn, *Grandmamma's Letters from Japan*, 192.

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artistry, but it also boasted colorful ceremonies and pageantry that smacked too much of Roman Catholicism for Protestant tastes. American ambivalence toward it was common. A hostile Julia Carrothers could ask, "What has Buddhism done for the world?" and then elsewhere answer her own question: "Even Christian missionaries cannot fail to commend . . . [its] humanizing influence."[57]

Some were more impressed, including those few who found in this Asian religion a supplement or alternative to Christianity, but one that did not necessitate turning wholly away from the American tradition. Before taking Buddhist vows, Boston physician W. Sturgis Bigelow explained its parallels in the West: "Buddhist philosophy is a sort of spiritual Pantheism—Emerson, almost exactly. Buddhist morals are—Love your neighbor better than yourself. And the Budd. idea of the relation of man to God is . . . as every great man in recorded history has been telling the world at the top of his voice, 'the Kingdom of God is within you.' "[58] That multiple faiths could peacefully coexist was a source of wonderment to many Americans; so was the general happiness surrounding religious events. Compared to the "artless and simple" religious joy of Japan, Gulick admitted, "aspects of Christianity certainly have a gloomy look." This forced him to argue that, appearances to the contrary, the religion of the West "at heart is a religion of profound joy."[59]

Certainty about the truth of their own faith did not prevent Americans from sometimes wondering, if only for an instant, about the wisdom of disturbing native religions. The family shrine in the old house that Griffis occupied in Fukui had been consecrated by "the sacredness of human belief," and he was moved to write, "I often asked myself the question—Why not leave these people alone? They seem to be happy enough; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." Such thoughts, Carrothers said, commonly arose "in the heart of a missionary," but they should not interfere with the performance of duty. To be a Christian was to be a soldier in God's army, and, however peaceful and pleasant Japan seemed, the Lord's command to spread his word must be obeyed: "It will not do . . . to keep back the truth from the people because they may be happier or less responsible in a state of ignorance." Yet one could not afford entirely to eradicate the old beliefs or discount the powers of the old gods. The feeling that Japan would become Christian did not prevent Ladd from seeing that, under pressure of the native tradition, religious practices and ceremonies would be altered and the word of the Lord Japanized. Such changes were not only necessary but also right. Tradition had provided much of value—"the spirit of regard for the unseen . . . , reverence for elders . . . , that consciousness of living and acting constantly in the sight of a 'great crowd of heavenly witnesses,' and the de-

[57] Ladd, *Rare Days in Japan*, 97; and Carrothers, *Kesa and Saijiro*, 437, and *The Sunrise Kingdom*, 32.

[58] Bigelow to Phillips Brooks, August 19, 1889, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Phillips Brooks Papers. For a copy of the letter, see Akiko Murakata, ed., "Selected Letters of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1971), 82–85. Bigelow's 1908 Ingersoll Lecture at Harvard was published as *Buddhism and Immortality* (Boston, 1908). The other well-known convert to Buddhism was Ernest Fenollosa. See Lawrence Chisolm, *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture* (New Haven, Conn., 1963), 63, 103–17; and Van Wyck Brooks, *Fenollosa and His Circle* (New York, 1962), 1–68.

[59] Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, 293.

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sire to emulate the character and the examples of the heroes of old time."[60] Christianity might bring new truths, but the new could never wholly supplant those religious values so deeply embedded in Japan's rich history.

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY the normal American view of the relationship with Japan was that of parent to child. The United States, it was argued, had both "opened" the long-sealed nation and signed the first trade treaty with it. Because the United States possessed no official empire, it could thereafter assume a kind of paternalistic, protective stance toward this clever and progressive people. Attitudes reflecting this stance filled the minds of those men and women who went to Japan to work and spread the gospel. Whatever their personal ambitions, virtually all arrived in the Orient as proud bearers of the Western tradition, secure in their feelings of scientific, political, and religious superiority. They also arrived content in the knowledge that the Japanese, an imitative people, were eager to absorb the lessons the Americans had to teach. This proved to be true, but it was only part of a more complex experience, one shot through with ambiguity and paradox. Japan proved to be more upsetting than they could have anticipated. These Americans were prepared for hardship, pain, loneliness, and discomfort. They were not prepared to encounter a society in which certain social practices could seem superior to their own, one that could call some of their basic values into question, one that was not just civilized but could seem in some ways more civilized than was the United States. They were not prepared to find that the word "barbarian" could, in some instances, be aptly applied to them.

Evidence of Japanese superiority, or what was often referred to as the "lessons" of that nation, called forth different responses. Most common was a kind of indifference: comparisons unfavorable to the United States were noted; and then the writer proceeded to another topic, feeling no need—at least in print—to reconcile the implied criticisms with any call for change. In some ways missionaries had an easy time. No matter how much they might admire Japanese civilization and no matter how critical of American ways they became, they could always retreat behind the protection of the True Word: Americans might break all of the commandments that the Japanese in their religious ignorance observed, but in the final analysis being a Christian was more important than being virtuous. A few Americans of a theoretical bent managed to capture apparent Japanese advantages in conceptual webs that served to redeem notions of Western superiority. The strategy pursued was usually evolutionary; one could find "impersonality" or "communalism" as the key to Japan's most admirable traits and then see both as products of an earlier stage of social evolution than the individualism that characterized the United States.[61] Occasionally

[60] Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 440; Carrothers, *The Sunrise Kingdom*, 191–92; and Ladd, *Rare Days in Japan*, 98.

[61] Lowell argued for "impersonality" as the key to Japan and Gulick took the "communalism" approach; see Lowell, *Soul of the Far East*, esp. 15; and Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, esp. 361, 366–67, 438–47.

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an American treated the two nations in a balanced manner, weighed pros and cons, and showed that each society possessed positive characteristics that might be profitably adopted by the other.[62] Even this view could reach an extreme. Ernest F. Fenollosa, the first professor of philosophy at Tokyo University, believed Japan was on the way to becoming a unique blend of East and West, the point of fusion for two halves of humanity, two civilizations that had been severed in ancient times: "It may be . . . that on her shores shall be created that new latter-day type of civilized man which shall prevail through the world for the next thousand years."[63]

No matter how one dealt with the obvious virtues of Japan, many Americans became ambivalent over their own roles in speeding the process of modernization. They wanted to help change the nation by introducing all of the benefits of Western life, yet they feared this would entail drastic alterations in the traditional ways that they had come to admire, respect, and even love. In truth, they need not have worried. Their observations contain evidence enough to show the enduring strength of Japanese culture, to suggest that, however significantly modernization might alter the country, it could never make Japan into a carbon copy of the West. Imitative the Japanese might be, but the deeply rooted core values of their civilization would be little affected by the most drastic changes in political and economic institutions.

It was the rare individual who did not return home from Japan changed and broadened, who did not thereafter see the world in some measure through eyes that had been Japanized. Residence in a society where daily life—even at the humblest level—contained a larger measure of beauty, grace, delicacy, gentleness, joy, happiness, cleanliness, courtesy, and decent behavior than was available to Americans of almost any social class made for a kind of experiential—as opposed to theoretical—critique of U.S. culture and served to alter perceptions and realities in ways that border on the inexpressible. The works of these Americans reveal a newly born dissatisfaction with many aspects of life at home. Emphases vary, but some grew critical of American institutions and behavior patterns, more appreciative of art and landscape and the necessity for good design, and more tolerant of different social, political, and religious traditions. Ultimately, these Americans can be considered among the first to face fully the challenge of Asian civilization, where mastery of self has taken precedence over mastery of nature; this is a challenge that, of course, remains alive today.

If there is a larger historical payoff to this theme, it cannot be accurately measured. The meaning must remain in the realm of the personal, though clearly it relates to broader cultural encounters. Even at the individual level the possible teachings of Japan remain something of a mystery. It is difficult to know to what extent Americans incorporated "lessons" into their own lives, or were able to transmit any of them to their fellow countrymen. Only Hearn, who stayed to

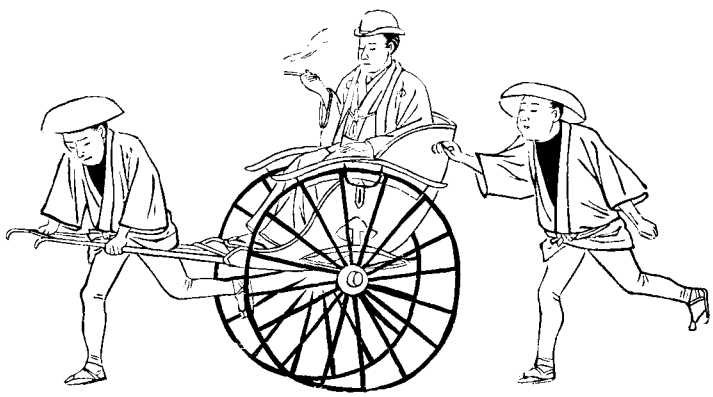
[62] Edward S. Morse, throughout all of his works, achieved perhaps the most balanced approach to the cultures of the two lands. Lafcadio Hearn, especially in his private letters rather than his public writings, is better balanced in assessing the two civilizations than he is usually given credit for.

[63] Fenollosa, "Chinese and Japanese Traits," *Atlantic Monthly*, 69 (1892): 775.

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marry a Japanese woman, wrote about the long-range effect of the Orient upon an American sensibility. It was possible to collect artifacts, as did Morse, or artworks, as did Fenollosa, or to make a career out of writing about Japan, as did Griffis, without dealing with personal changes. Evidence enough exists to suggest that Japan left Americans in a state of what might be called comparative cultural discomfort, but its effect was expressed largely in writing rather than behavior.

For the most part the Americans who went to Japan had to remain content with unusual insights and new points of view or with living examples of Western truisms that had been forgotten or laid aside. In the Orient they learned that happiness did not depend upon progress or wealth; that men, women, and children could enjoy a wider variety of behavior than was possible at home; that one could be a heathen and yet virtuous or stark naked and still modest; that economic progress did not depend upon individualism or republicanism; that cleanliness, frugality, honesty, and delicacy were possible for masses of people; that art could inform all of life and daily behavior; and that the most "primitive" religions provided valuable forms of experience and truth. The final lesson of Japan was flavored with irony. After living there, many Americans came to wish that their countrymen could copy or adopt some of the behavior patterns of the Japanese. But for the most part this adaptation proved to be impossible. Unlike the Japanese, Americans were captives of a tradition in which imitation might be the sincerest form of flattery, but flattery was not a virtue that anyone cared to practice.



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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

DEREK SAYER. *Marx's Method: Ideology, Science and Critique in* Capital. (Marxist Theory and Contemporary Capitalism, number 17.) Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, and Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. xi, 197. $20.00.

In recent commentaries on Marx, the question of his method has received much attention. This attention is part of the emphasis on theory among Marxist intellectuals in the Western world that has been the almost inevitable corollary of disappointments in practice and also of a wish to reappraise fundamentals following the false dawn of post-1968.

Derek Sayer's book is a welcome contribution to this debate. It is a fine example of a well-written, economically argued book that concentrates on a chosen goal and drives single-mindedly toward it. The work is divided into two clear halves: the first begins with an excellent discussion of ideology in the general context of historical materialism and then deals with Marx's discussion in *Capital* of the value-form and commodity fetishism and of the trinity formula. The second part attempts a reconstruction of the concepts that made such analyses possible by concentrating on the "General Introduction" to the *Grundrisse* and attempting to formulate clearly the criteria governing the abstraction inherent in Marx's method of inquiry. There is a very useful listing of around eighty sources in English for Marx's more important texts.

The one reservation I have is that there is always a danger inherent in transposing modern problems back into Marx and making these the basis of one's reading of the text. By concentrating on the modern idea of method, Sayer cannot do justice to the intellectual context of Marx's "Kantianism" and is led to assert that Marx is consciously embodying these later developments in his theory. Sayer refers particularly to the work of the American philosopher of science A. R. Hanson on the logic of hypothesis formation. But it is doubtful whether Kantian logical (or methodological) ideas can so readily be applied to post-Fregean developments, of which Hanson's design for an "abduction" is one. I am also puzzled by Sayer's assurance that the commodity is an observable phenomenal form—whereas Marx is constantly at pains to point out that the thing so described never occurs as this sort of thing in our world and thus cannot be a simple phenomenon.

Nevertheless, this book can be recommended without hesitation for all those interested in Marx's method. It is particularly illuminating on the "General Introduction" of 1857—whether Marx continued to use transhistorical categories and the distinction between his method of inquiry and his method of presentation. On this text, which has been at the center of much recent debate on Marx's method, Sayer has provided us with the best available commentary.

DAVID MCLELLAN
University of Kent

KEITH L. NELSON and SPENCER C. OLIN, JR. *Why War? Ideology, Theory, and History.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. 201. $10.95.

Why War? opens with a quotation from Ernest May, who says that "potentially, history is an enormously rich resource for people who govern," but that "such people usually draw upon this resource haphazardly or thoughtlessly," and that by and large professional historians "have put out little effort to help them" (p. 1). The authors of this slim volume have attempted to remedy this situation, and because they believe war to be the most critical problem confronting people who govern, they have dedicated their effort to an analysis of historical explanations for the causes of war and to the formulation of a methodology or theory that would permit a less haphazard and thoughtless approach to that subject. Most historians, they maintain, eschew broad hypotheses and categorizing systems and tend to emphasize the uniqueness of situations. This stress on complexity and the uniqueness of historical events "has diminished the meaning of history

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by robbing it of much of its power for comprehending the world in which we live" (p. 2). They contend that the occurrence and process of war follow discernible historical patterns to a far greater extent than is commonly recognized, and that it is the duty of historians to examine such recurrent elements with the aim of making the study of the past more relevant to everyone. But before one can begin to develop a truly useful, comparative, synoptic, and integrated approach to the history of war, the authors warn us that it is necessary to examine carefully the role of theory in scholarly writing, because only through the use of theory can a statement of any general applicability be made or tested. Few historians, they declare, are explicit in their selection of theory or systematic in its application, nor are many historians aware of perhaps the most crucial fact about theory, namely that theories derive from and reflect their creators' ideologies.

The authors are clearly motivated by the best of intentions, but their display of ignorance about historiography is exceeded only by their pretentiousness and the preposterous nature of their own theories. They admit the need to appreciate the theoretical contributions of scholars in many fields such as biology, economics, or sociology, but because most historians have underestimated the importance of ideology they decided to abandon these disciplinary categories and discuss theories of war in the context of the major Western ideological traditions: conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism. They proceed to analyze and define these traditions, selecting and interpreting spokesmen for each in a curiously arbitrary fashion and generalizing on the variations within each tradition. Following their analyses of ideologies, the authors go on to examine the works of historians on the origins of the First and Second World Wars, emphasizing how the approach of each derives from theoretical preconceptions. Again, the selection of historians to be examined and their ideological categorization can only be described as arbitrary, and the authors' interpretations of their works are not only questionable but also in many cases inaccurate or downright mistaken.

Yet the authors seem blithely confident that they have provided us with an original and useful "approach" to the study not only of wars (*all* wars) but also to such recurrent phenomena as restorations, reform movements, crime waves, and the like. Perhaps the approach of these authors has merits that I was unable to perceive, but, after reading this book, I felt that "people who govern" might do just as well to go back to the practice of analyzing entrails and that the central question of *Why War?* remained unanswered.

NORMAN RICH
Brown University

STUART F. SPICKER *et al.*, editors. *Aging and the Elderly: Humanistic Perspectives in Gerontology.* With an introduction by ERIK H. ERIKSON and JOAN M. ERIKSON. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1978. Pp. viii, 406. Cloth $15.00, paper $8.95.

When federal funds began to underwrite research in the humanities in the early 1970s, some observers feared that such support, having already corrupted the social sciences, would now corrupt the humanities. Others, more optimistic, were convinced that the humanities could make novel contributions to concerns that heretofore had escaped their attention. In fact, to judge by this collection, both the perils and the promises were exaggerated. Historians, literary critics, and philosophers can examine the issues around aging without compromising their scholarship. Yet, for those who really believed that the humanities could deeply inform social policy, this volume will prove disappointing.

As is typical of many such enterprises, the editors devote little attention to defining the nature of the assignment. One of their claims is that "aging is too vast a subject to be left solely to social and physical scientists." Equally unsatisfying is their notion that "because one measure of the humaneness of a culture is its treatment of the elderly, the humanities have a vital contribution to make." Nor do the twenty essays collected here address the broader question of the humanities' role, although, taken together, they do become a case in point.

Literary critics, who together with historians are responsible for most of the essays here, provide descriptions of the aged in nursery stories, in English Romantic poets, in Turgenev, and in Ibsen and Beckett. Although one can discover favorable images (as in Wordsworth's noble Cumberland Beggar), most often the aged and the process of aging is treated quite harshly. "Whenever any of his characters or Turgenev himself speaks of old age," writes Walter Moss, "it is not to praise it but to curse it" (p. 245). These essays do pile illustrative quotation upon illustrative quotation, all with good sense, and all informing us that the elderly enjoyed no golden age in the past—a useful reminder, but one with limited consequences.

The historians' contributions consistently demonstrate substantial craftmanship. David Stannard intelligently describes the position of the elderly in the United States today, although it is unclear how his knowledge of aging in the past informs his analysis. Barbara Rosenkrantz and Maris Vinovskis argue that nineteenth-century American society neglected the aged, taking their evidence from the fact that they were underrepresented among patients in antebellum insane asylums (and overrepresented among inmates of almshouses); but the focus is too narrow to substantiate the general point of neglect

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and may well distort both the ideology and reality of asylum care. Daniel Scott Smith offers a detailed and impressive account of the position of the elderly in a seventeenth-century New England town but succeeds less well in bringing the story into the nineteenth century. Steven Smith uses sermons and ministers' autobiographies to argue that "in seventeenth century England the death of an individual was a highly significant event accompanied by elaborate and socially useful rituals" (p. 205), but he is never clear on how deeply these attitudes permeated society, why they flourished, or when they changed.

Taken together, the historians have significant things to say about the way that past societies responded to the aged. They too demonstrate that the problems that the elderly now face are less than novel. To the degree that the aged in earlier societies controlled resources, the younger generation frequently became impatient. To the degree that the elderly were dependent, the younger generation often displayed an indifference that could shade over into cruelty.

Accepting these points, the question still remains as to what the role of the humanities is, and might be, in terms of social policy. Perhaps the best that can be expected is that the humanities will, in the phrase of one foundation executive, provide impressive background music but little else—and this volume comes dangerously close to fulfilling his notion. On the other hand, it may not be unreasonable to think of humanists plunging into the materials of controversies in much greater depth, analyzing choices made and not made, the underlying social, ethical, and intellectual foundations of past and present policies, their causes and consequences, and in this way taking the assignment of informing social policy more seriously. Of course, such an effort might turn humanists into social scientists and undercut their own disciplinary approaches; I, for one, doubt it. In all events, if the humanities are to offer more than muzak, humanists had better start to think longer and harder about the precise nature of the task and about what they can and cannot contribute to an understanding of social issues.

DAVID J. ROTHMAN
Columbia University

WESLEY D. SMITH. *The Hippocratic Tradition.* (Cornell Publications in the History of Science.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1979. Pp. 264. $12.95.

Too often the history of medicine becomes enmeshed in assumptions of researchers who presume the ideals of their own time are similar, if not identical, to those of the distant past. Wesley D. Smith has debunked most of the internal suppositions traditionally attending the history of medicine, particularly the medicine of classical antiquity. He does so without apology throughout *Hippocratic Tradition*, and those readers comfortable with deeply embedded premises of the nineteenth century will be infuriated with lines like the following: "I will conclude that the medical men [of the nineteenth century] led the way, generating medical 'history' out of their own current scientific interests instead of out of historical study and that subsequently philologists and historians, infected by the progressive attitude and euphoria of the scientists, set out to find the evidence with which to sustain the medical men's views" (p. 14).

Smith's basic subject is the history of Hippocratism in classical antiquity, although there is a crucial prefatory discussion of Renaissance through nineteenth-century views on Hippocrates (pp. 14–31) that "infect" almost all modern histories of medicine. Here are found the "Hippocratic ideals" so satisfying to medical practitioners, uneasy about their historical pedigrees, and many, so Smith brilliantly delineates, continue to search for the "real" Hippocrates, although modern scholarship has demonstrated how little, if anything, remains of "Hippocrates" in the Hippocratic corpus. The major concern of the book, however, is with the often obscure, self-contained writings of Galen (129–ca. 200), who took Hippocrates as an ideal, and who thereby stamped his own synthesis of medicine (twenty volumes in the Kühn edition) with that ideal. As Smith lucidly shows, Galen's Hippocrates was above criticism, even more to be respected than Plato and Aristotle, although Galen quite often delighted in refuting Aristotle in the names of both Plato and Hippocrates. Thus, Galen's numerous commentaries on the purported tracts of Hippocrates, available in the second century, became a path to better understanding of the "master," even where the guide proved fallible. Galen could, in the manner of well-buttressed theological or philosophical exegesis, explain Hippocrates' contradictions, half-statements, and apparently unfounded assertions by the supremely simple expedient of Plato's explanations applied to Hippocratic medicine. Sometimes Aristotle could be employed in the same way, but only if he supported Plato and Hippocrates—certainly not true in regard to the functions of the brain and the heart.

Smith carefully and meticulously indicates that the medical historian, who would probe the intricate quagmire of Galen's Hippocratism or any of the *real* sources of medical theory and practice in Greek and Roman antiquity, must do it through the best Greek texts available. One cannot use the Latin translations in Kühn, nor can one rely upon most modern "interpretations" of ancient medicine, since those interpretations mirror the nineteenth

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century and its pursuit of its own presumed headwaters of logic and science. One must read the Greek and see what it says, not what we want it to say. The book will generate controversy, but scholars will have to assess the evidence of the Greek texts. One may differ on particulars, but the evidence from antiquity overwhelmingly supports Smith's thesis: too many modern historians of medicine have imposed themselves on the medical texts of antiquity and have, as a consequence, given a badly warped view of Greek and Roman medicine. If the book has a flaw, it is the overreaction to the "ancients-as-moderns" school of historical scholarship in medical history. This strong view, however, is necessary, given the history of scholarship in ancient medicine since 1800. *Hippocratic Tradition* is one of the most important books on ancient medicine to be published since the appearance of Temkin's long-respected *Geschichte der Hippokratismus* (1932). Smith now has provided a clear summary of Galen's fundamental role in molding a medical ideal and has also exposed how and why so much medical history has emerged as a jagged reflection of the last century. *Hippocratic Tradition* stands as one of the very few books that presents Galen and Roman medicine as it was, and modern readers will be rewarded by an immensely fascinating panorama of theories, arguments, and personalities. Implicitly, Smith suggests how much work remains to be done in the history of ancient medicine.

JOHN SCARBOROUGH
University of Kentucky

J. F. C. HARRISON. *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780–1850.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1979. Pp. xvii, 277. $19.50.

The Second Coming is a fascinating speculative analysis of millenarianism in Britain and, for comparison, the United States. It is, as J. F. C. Harrison candidly explains, an experiment in the writing of popular history, or history from below, which grew out of his earlier work on the Owenites. As a result he is more interested in testing hypotheses than he is in reaching definitive answers. More precisely, Harrison has attempted to examine the recurring phenomenon of millenarianism as a conceptual tool with which to explore the "popular mind" and its relationship to "popular culture" in an era of rapid social and economic change. He has drawn heavily upon the secondary sociological, anthropological, and historical literature on the subject as well as a wide variety of published and unpublished primary sources to write an important and intriguing book that should prove of considerable interest to social and church historians.

One of Harrison's principal hypotheses that survives his own careful scrutiny is that the expectation of the second coming provided ordinary people with a system of beliefs that gave meaning to the bewildering changes they experienced in industrializing Britain and expanding America in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. Their vision of the future, the author argues, was decidedly radical in its adventist presumptions and reflected a fundamental, if inarticulated, alienation from contemporary society. The tradesmen, artisans, laborers, domestic servants, small farmers, and farm workers who, along with a sprinkling of merchants, businessmen, and clergy, followed one or more of the charismatic prophets and prophetesses to the New Jerusalem were part of a more comprehensive radicalism reflected in Owenism, Chartism, and other popular challenges to established values and institutions.

Although Harrison focuses upon the familiar history of Richard Brothers and Joanna Southcott and their followers in Britain and the Shakers, Mormons, and Millerites in America, he also discusses their obvious predecessors and successors. His explanations of the complexities of millenarian theology are unfailingly lucid as he traces the similarities and differences between the various movements. Central to his purpose is the belief, stated repeatedly throughout the book, that millenarianism was not a lunatic aberration of the times, or an amusing curiosity at the fringes of religious belief, but a logical manifestation of intense, salvationist, evangelical Protestantism and popular folklore. As such, he argues persuasively, it is worthy of serious study.

Millennial theology, rooted in the books of Daniel and Revelation as well as the Apocrypha, was, Harrison reminds us, a respectable area of learned inquiry even in the midst of the Enlightenment; and many prominent, responsible people believed in the eventual establishment of God's kingdom on earth. But to study and preach about the second coming was one thing; to act as though the last days were actually here was quite another, and Harrison, more than any previous student of the subject, probes the reasons for it. From the late eighteenth century onward people were convinced that they were living in an era of momentous crisis portending great events. They looked for explanations and outcomes within the context of their own evangelical folk culture. In his sympathetic descriptions of those visionaries and their followers who believed the second coming was at hand, Harrison recounts the "omens and auguries, dreams and divinations, magic, witchcraft and demons . . . [that] provided a matrix in which millenarian yearning could be nourished" (p. 39). It was, he suggests, the same world that produced much of the enthusiasm for Methodism.

Harrison does not pretend to know why a minor-

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ity of religious enthusiasts became convinced that the second coming was imminent, but he has posed a number of tantalizing explanations that students of popular thought and culture should consider. They cannot do so, however, until, as in the case of millenarianism, they look more closely at those historical phenomena that might at first glance appear to be tangential and unimportant but that might, when viewed in cultural context, prove to be rewarding repositories of information about the inarticulate masses whose history has been so difficult to write.

RICHARD ALLEN SOLOWAY
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JAMES R. MOORE. *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870–1900.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 502. $37.50.

The "warfare" of science and religion has become a cliché of the intellectual history of the late nineteenth century. Like most such clichés, it is ripe for annihilation. James R. Moore's important book represents the most thorough effort both to destroy the "military metaphor" and to replace it with a "non-violent history" of the responses to Darwinism in the last three decades of the century. It is an ambitious and impressive effort, dealing with both British and American reactions, giving the first comprehensive treatment of the "post-Darwinian" debate, and including a fifty-eight-page bibliography. Even if Moore has attempted to pack too much into one book, his work is a considerable achievement that may change the terms in which we discuss the relations of science and religion.

The first part of Moore's book is a historiographical essay, showing the origins of the "military metaphor" in John W. Draper and Andrew D. White and its uncritical acceptance by subsequent historians and pretty well demolishing (indeed overkilling) the idea of the great conflict of science and religion. In its place Moore proposes the concept of a crisis of faith *within* both science and religion, as each strove to come to terms with Darwinian evolution. Unfortunately, Moore chooses to burden himself and his reader with a social-science model, Festinger's theory of "cognitive dissonance," the chief merit of which is the ease with which it may be disregarded. This, like Moore's awkward distinction between "Darwinists" and "Darwinians," tends to divert readers with terminological difficulties rather than allowing them to grapple with the argument.

The second part of the book is a discussion of the varieties of evolutionary thought among scientists, showing the extent of anti-Darwinism and of "Darwinisticism" among them and distinguishing Darwin's own Darwinism from that of others. This is competent history of science (Moore's own field at the Open University) but neither distinctive nor distinguished. The most original part of Moore's work is the third section, a systematic study of twenty-eight Christian responses to Darwin. Even the anti-Darwinians, Moore finds, were not animated by hostility to science but rather responded in terms of philosophic assumptions allied to their faith and shared with some scientists. More important were the "Christian Darwinists," who accepted evolution but rejected natural selection and the inclusion of man's higher faculties, preferring alternative (Lamarckian or Spencerian) evolutionary doctrines. Moore's singular contribution is his analysis (one may even say discovery) of the "Christian Darwinians"—James Iverach, Aubrey Moore, Asa Gray, and George F. Wright—who accepted Darwin's full theory within the framework of their Christianity. The author's treatment of these men, sensitive both to science and to theology, would by itself justify the book. Moore then seeks to explain why some were "Darwinists" and others "Darwinians." He finds the answer in an elegant theological analysis, showing that the adulteration of Darwinian evolutionism by the "Darwinists" was related to the liberal or romantic tendencies of their theology, whereas pure Darwinism, based on Paley and Malthus, was compatible with an orthodox worldview and indeed could be accepted only by those whose theology was orthodox (and usually Calvinist).

Moore's argument, however convoluted and overelaborate, demonstrates that no difficulties were present in Darwinian evolution that were not already present in science and philosophy. He shows how the reactions of both scientists and theologians were shaped by these pre-existing views and that representatives of all shades of opinion about Darwin could be found in the "camps"—not rival but complementary—of science and religion. This is an argument that cannot be disregarded.

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ
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HENRY JOHN STEFFENS. *James Prescott Joule and the Concept of Energy.* New York: Science History Publications, and Dawson, Folkestone, Kent. 1979. Pp. x, 172. $20.00.

This book takes on four fundamental tasks: (1) detailing the circumstances that motivated and directed James Prescott Joule's experimental studies on electricity, heat, and mechanical motions be-

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tween 1837 and 1878; (2) explaining Joule's changing theories regarding the relationships between heat, electrical resistance, and mechanical motions; (3) explaining why Joule's work was virtually ignored prior to 1847; and (4) evaluating the place Joule's work had in the subsequent development of thermodynamics by William Thomson (Lord Kelvin), Rudolph Clausius, and William Rankine.

After chapter 1, which is awkwardly written and filled with ambiguous descriptions of apparatus that cry out for accompanying diagrams, all four tasks are accomplished with admirable clarity and economy. We see a man whose initial studies had a clear technological focus become increasingly fascinated by theoretical questions. We see how his theoretical attitudes changed in response to a widening awareness of the writings of Michael Faraday, Humphrey Davy, Count Rumford, James Herepath, and Julius R. Mayer. Finally, we are presented convincing, detailed arguments to show that whatever priority arguments may have been going on in popular literature, it was primarily from Joule's work that Thomson and Rankine derived their commitment to the equivalence of heat and mechanical energy and to dynamic theories of heat.

Through Henry John Steffens presents important evidence to support his argument that Joule's work was suspected and rejected by contemporaries in large part because it claimed a degree of precision that most workers thought impossible, that evidence comes from only two sources; a wider sampling would have made the argument much more convincing.

RICHARD G. OLSON
Harvey Mudd College

J. L. HEILBRON. *Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 606. $40.00.

This is a work of great, indeed of delightful, learning. It results from years spent combing the archives, from wide and imaginative reading in the printed sources, and from a remarkable effort to categorize and organize a widely scattered literature of interpretation. J. L. Heilbron tells his tale in five hundred pages of closely printed, finely crafted text: footnotes by the thousands buttress the argument, each citing up to five or ten authorities. A two-page "Note on the Notes" explains the ingenious system of abbreviations that allows so much testimony to be compressed into so little space. The work concludes with a bibliography containing about sixteen hundred entries arranged alphabetically without division into primary and secondary sources and with a meticulous index of thirty-five pages. Learning on this grand scale is not easily won or easily digested. Certain preliminary points can be noted, however.

Heilbron was one of the first students of T. S. Kuhn. The book under review took its rise in the latter's seminar at Berkeley in the late fifties. At that time, science was viewed as autonomous knowledge, which could properly be studied apart from the society that created it. The work builds on this and certain other presuppositions. It begins by contrasting those physical sciences that were "far advanced" in antiquity with others that, in the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century, "exchanged one set of unproductive concepts for another." New sciences managed to join the first group during the long years of the Scientific Revolution: "electricity led the way. Hence the propriety of treating its history as the exemplar of early modern physics" (p. 1). More than that, electricity was "theologically and cosmologically neutral." To Heilbron, it offers an important, pure case in which scientific development may be studied apart from those cultural factors that distort both science and our understanding.

Having established his categories, the author is free to pursue the complex, involuted tale of shocks and sparks, attractions and repulsions, effluvia and electrophores. Four of the five sections deal with "Electricity in the Seventeenth Century" (for example, William Gilbert and the amber effect, testing the air theory, the Cartesians); "The Great Discoveries" (Hauksbee, Gray, Dufay, Nollet); "The Age of Franklin" (the Leyden jar, lighting); and "Quantification" (Coulomb's law, electrostatics and the pile). In these sections a detailed, complex argument about experiments and concepts is presented with precision and wit. Technical diagrams and occasional illustrations are provided. A number of authors who have written on one or another aspect of the subject are taken gently or firmly to task, and we are furnished with what will stand for years to come as the fullest, most exact account of static electricity. Which of Heilbron's revisions and extensions to our knowledge will be generally accepted must be argued in the specialist journals of the history of science. That he has revised and extended our knowledge in a most impressive fashion is fully apparent.

Heilbron has opted for a traditional approach to his subject. The Glorious, American, French, and Industrial Revolutions find no echo in these pages. Notwithstanding the commitment to the autonomy of science, Heilbron displays a superb sensitivity to historical context in the first and most original section of the book. Here he focuses on "Early Modern Physics and its Cultivators." With his usual great erudition he discusses the contexts and the scientific practices of the Jesuits, the Academicians, the Professors, and the Independent Lecturers. Much valu-

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able information on patrons, salaries, equipment, and audiences is gathered and marshaled. The number of scientific practitioners and the variety of their practice is marvelous to behold. In this first section, Heilbron succeeds in that most difficult and urgent task—bringing the history of science to life as a part of history. This alone is enough to put us all in his debt and make his book a required reference for students of the era.

ARNOLD THACKRAY
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DONALD WORSTER. *Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology.* San Francisco: Sierra Club Books. 1977. Pp. xii, 404. $15.00.

Donald Worster's book, a gracefully written account of selected events in the history of ecology, is designed to show how this field developed prior to the mid-twentieth-century explosion of concern about the subject. As he states at the outset, there is a need for such a study, since ecology, "like a stranger who has just blown into town . . . seems like a presence without a past" (p. vii).

The book is organized around five "major formative moments when ecology underwent a significant transformation" (p. x), but Worster is essentially tracing two strands of thinking. One begins with the "imperial" approach of Francis Bacon, who posited that man must, using scientific means, achieve domination over the land, wildlife, and plants, since "the world is made for man . . . not man for the world" (p. 30). The other school of thought, which arose in the next century with Gilbert White and Carl Linnaeus, took a pastoral, holistic approach to the subject.

Worster's narrative is selective, episodic, and sometimes one-sided. Some major figures receive cursory attention or none at all, and his chronology is at times confusing. In these circumstances, it would have helped to place the notes at the foot of each page, rather than at the back of the book. Worster does make judicious use, however, of a wide range of sources.

Worster accepts the traditional view that conservation in the U.S. became a national concern in the Progressive era. This idea needs to be re-examined. Nationwide emphasis on conservation matters began in the mid-1880s, with individuals such as Geoge Bird Grinnell and groups such as his Audubon Society and the Boone and Crockett Club. This followed years of agitation beginning in the 1840s by local and state sportsmen's associations, whose members sought to limit and regulate hunting by both sportsmen and market hunters.

The original Audubon group, formed by Grinnell in 1886 when he was editor of *Forest and Stream*, was the first to seek protection for nongame birds, as distinguished from game species. Worster does not allude to any of this, nor does he mention Spencer F. Baird, a giant among nineteenth-century American zoologists and the founder in 1871 of the U.S. Fish Commission. By 1872, Baird had put the first federally sponsored fish hatchery into operation in California.

Worster terms Gifford Pinchot "the major architect of the Progressive conservation ideology" (p. 266). That honor more appropriately belongs to Grinnell, who in effect tutored Theodore Roosevelt for years, so that as president, he was able to make effective use of Pinchot's talents. Though he was an excellent manager and implementer, Pinchot originated few conservation concepts. Berhard E. Fernow, Pinchot's able predecessor as head of the government's forestry service, pioneered in timber preservation but is not mentioned by Worster either. Worster is not alone here, however, since Pinchot consistently downgraded Fernow's accomplishments, and most historians have been content to follow his lead.

Worster castigates the U.S. Biological Survey for its policy of eliminating predators and noxious rodents in the West. C. Hart Merriam, that agency's organizer and first chief, is charged with having begun the policy of poisoning prairie dogs, but Merriam was under extreme pressure from congressmen, farmers, and stockmen to take some action. He made it clear many times that he had no liking for the work and had no desire to have his agency take it up. Further, an outbreak of rabies among various wildlife species erupted in the Western U.S. in 1909 and remained a serious problem for a considerable period of time.

Merriam had to operate the survey on a shoestring for years, and large appropriations for rodent and predator control were not made until after he left government service. On the other hand, Merriam should be credited with having urged, beginning in 1886, the passage of legislation barring potentially harmful exotic species from entering the country. Congress did not act on this advice until 1900. This same legislation helped to suppress the wholesale killing of game species for the market. T. S. Palmer, a Merriam subordinate, merits at least a footnote for having spent years to help formulate state and federal game laws and legislation to protect migratory birds. Finally, mention should be made of the American Ornithologists' Union, which from its inception in 1883 fought against plume hunters and began the bird migration studies that Merriam and the survey carried on for decades.

These caveats aside, Worster has written a volume that should be read and pondered. Historians have given insufficient attention to some of the top-

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ics he discusses, and ecological history is just beginning to receive the priority it deserves. Worster has made a good beginning.

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HENRY A. GEMERY and JAN S. HOGENDORN, editors. *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade.* (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1979. Pp. xvi, 448. $24.00.

The Uncommon Market is a collection of sixteen essays presented at a conference on the economic history of the Atlantic slave trade held in August 1975. As is so often the case with such volumes, one is initially attracted by the list of authors. In this case, the substance of the volume lives up to its advance billing. The papers are good, and editors Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn have done a good job of constructing a theme to link the papers together. The volume should appeal to anyone having an interest in slavery, and although a familiarity with the literature helps in reading these papers it is by no means essential.

The editors have divided the papers into two broad categories: "African Perspectives" (seven papers) and "Atlantic-American Perspectives" (nine papers). The division works well, though I felt the first section represented a more unified whole than did the second.

As the editors note, all of the papers "have a common link in that all are, to a degree, quantitative" (p. 2). Though the quantitative emphasis is evident in each paper, the authors follow several different methodological approaches. Classifying the papers according to their style reveals the diversity in scope and method that should make this volume appeal to historians and economic historians alike.

Those essays that are essentially quantitative (that is, those primarily concerned with the presentation of data) provide an abundance of information on several subjects and regions. Ralph Austen offers quantitative conjectures on the magnitude of the trans-Saharan slave trade and the East African–Red Sea slave trade between 600 and 1900. According to Austen, as many enslaved Africans were exported in these trades as in the Atlantic trade. D. Eltis provides revisions and additions to the estimates of the Atlantic trade, and Patrick Manning provides some detailed data on the slave trade in the Bight of Benin. Papers by Johannes Postma and by Herbert Klein and Stanley Engerman on mortality rates in the Atlantic slave trade round out the "quantitative" offerings.

Several papers on the slave trade in West Africa follow a more descriptive approach. Martin Klein and Paul Lovejoy stress the impact of slavery on kinship relations and the mode of production in West Africa, while Lovejoy and Hogendorn examine some of the details of "slave marketing." Mahdi Adamu and Joseph Miller provide excellent descriptions of the slave trade of the Bight of Benin and Angola respectively. When we add David Richardson's insightful essay on the consumption patterns of eighteenth-century West Africa, the reader has a very complete picture of slavery on the West African coast. Two other "descriptive" papers deal with aspects of the Atlantic slave trade. Ernst van den Boogaart and Pieter Emmen look at the role that the Dutch played in the early seventeenth century, and Walter Minchinton "revisits" the triangular trade (and concludes that slavers tried to follow such a pattern).

No volume on slavery these days would be complete without some input from the cliometricians. Gemery and Hogendorn provide such a piece with their estimates of the "costs" of slave exports to the West African economy. Their conclusion that the economic costs almost certainly exceeded the benefits seems plausible enough, though it raises anew the question of who "profited" from the slave trade. A second cliometric effort, by Richard Bean and Robert Thomas, examines the thesis that slavery replaced indentured servitude in British America as a consequence of a decline in the relative prices of slaves (which fell) relative to wages of free labor in Britain (which rose).

The final two essays in the volume, by Svend Green-Pedersen and by Sege Daget, examine the economic considerations behind abolition of the slave trade by Denmark and the frictions between the British and Danes that occurred over the suppression of the slave trade in the nineteenth century. Without reflecting on the quality of these essays, I found that they (as well as the Bean-Thomas essay) did not blend as well into the theme established by the other papers in the collection.

This was, I have been told, a very good conference. Based on these essays, I can see why. Fortunately, we can all share the benefits thanks to the efforts of Gemery and Hogendorn.

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University of California, Riverside

ANCIENT

GEORGE DENT WILCOXON. *Athens Ascendant.* Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1979. Pp. ix, 309. Cloth $16.75, paper $10.95.

This book sets out "to present developments in Athens during her period of steady ascendance,

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from the period immediately preceding the time of Solon until the climax of the Periclean age, and to estimate their significance" (p. ix). After a brief chapter reviewing the early history of Athens, the author begins with the political situation before Solon's reforms, and then moves steadily through the political and social events of the sixth and fifth centuries to the ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias, in 443. Chapters are divided in convenient units, with breaks at 590, 500, 490, 480, 479, 473, 467, 460, and 448 B.C. The book concludes with Pericles at his peak, avoiding the Samian War but including an account of the Parthenon and the Propylaea. George Dent Wilcoxon has used all the recent literature, and the thirty-seven pages of footnotes and ten pages of bibliography refer the reader to ancient sources and modern discussion.

The virtue of the book is its richness in presentation of central events and background, such as the role of the Agora in political decision making (pp. 51–53) or the construction of the Parthenon (pp. 210–15). But this richness unfortunately brings a companion weakness, the need to fill in interpretation and impression where evidence is lacking. Wilcoxon, in trying to present a detailed account of a poorly documented period, cannot resist filling in what "must have happened," to such an extent that the reader develops a fictional, or at least unsupported, notion of political activity and motivations at Athens. The technique occurs throughout but is most obvious in the figure of Pericles. Concerning the prosecution of Cimon we learn, "for Pericles it must have been an awkward moment, revealing to the world that, as Ephialtes' junior associate, he was not in complete harmony with his Alcmaeonid kindred, but decidedly to the left of them" (p. 156). The fact is, we do not know what Pericles felt, only what he did (and not much of that). On the terms of the Erythrae treaty, Wilcoxon comments, "one is surprised that Pericles would go so far, or if not responsible, that he would permit the more militant of his colleagues to do so. . . . He may have been unable to prevent it" (p. 193). What do we actually know about Pericles' attitude toward the treatment of subject-allies that we have a right to be surprised? After the ostracism of Thucydides, Wilcoxon writes, "to have surmounted the fearsome obstacle conferred a unique distinction, a sense of elation, a heightened self-confidence. . . . In the period ahead, his decisions were quicker, surer, more sweeping, yet tacitly admitted to be unexceptional" (p. 207). Which decisions do we know to be quicker and surer?

Throughout the narrative, we are told Pericles' reactions to events at Athens and abroad with as much detail as we learn about Carter's thoughts on Iran or Ted Kennedy. It is of course permissible, even necessary, for the ancient historian to state his interpretation of how events interrelate and of the motives of the people behind the events: he has after all the model of Herodotus and Thucydides. But in this case interpretation seems to overwhelm facts, creating a picture of Pericles (and other figures like Solon, Cleisthenes, Themistocles, and Cimon) that goes far beyond the evidence. A full account of the period, then, but to be used with caution.

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RAINER NICKEL. *Xenophon.* (Erträge der Forschung, number 111.) Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1979. Pp. vi, 163.

This book will be useful because the author has collected and summarized, with extensive use of direct quotation, a great number of scholarly opinions on Xenophon and his works. But one frequently feels that Rainer Nickel himself has not really seen to the heart of the question. Thus, for example, the date of Xenophon's exile is not just a matter of accepting one figure or another but affects our whole estimate of his conduct as a man of honor.

Nickel justly observes that the contradictory estimates of Xenophon that have been made by modern scholars reflect the critics' views of his personality. His own view (pp. 20–22) seems to me mistaken. Granted that Socrates in the *Memorabilia* is not (or rather is only sometimes) a "speaking-tube" for Xenophon's opinions and that Xenophon sometimes hides under pseudonyms in his historical works, I find it impossible to believe that he was portraying himself in the contemptible Aristippus (*Mem.* ii 1.1.ff; iii 8.1ff.). Taken out of context, Aristippus's remark that he is "everywhere a stranger" might fit Xenophon in exile. But even if, as Nickel claims, the "Socratic" is distinguished by self-sufficiency based on abstinence and withdrawal from political involvement, Aristippus is not an example. He rejects political responsibility to free himself for the self-indulgence that he admits to be the worst possible preparation for leadership. Xenophon shows no sympathy for him in his writings and in life, though barred from Athenian politics, certainly did not withdraw from involvement in affairs of state. Nickel rightly notes (p. 69) that, while Xenophon's Socratic writings blend fiction with fact, his whole life demonstrates his master's influence.

Nickel examines each of Xenophon's work four times over, under the headings "Die einzelnen Schriften," "Vorlagen und Quellen," "Literarische Gattungen," and "Arbeitsweise." The result is a series of unsatisfactory fragments, which might have been better combined; for example, Ctesias is not noted among the sources of the *Anabasis* (pp. 85–86),

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perhaps because he has already been mentioned on page 39 in connection with the book's date. Nickel rightly stresses the value of the moral and practical examples in the *Hellenica* but should have examined the reasons why so many great scholars have damned Xenophon as a historian instead of merely noting (p. 44) that they have done so. Some of the charges against Xenophon are unanswerable; they should not have been ignored. But at least it is better to display his virtues than to attempt an impossible defense.

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ERIC A. HAVELOCK. *The Greek Concept of Justice: From Its Shadow in Homer to Its Substance in Plato.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1978. Pp. ix, 382.)16.50.

Eric A. Havelock has throughout his career been one of the dissenting voices of classical scholarship, challenging some of our deepest and commonest assumptions. Over twenty years ago in *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics* (1957) he questioned in the most radical way standard views of the importance of the sophistic tradition compared to that of Plato and Aristotle. In his new book he continues an inquiry, begun in his *Preface to Plato* (1963), into the difference made to Greek culture by the transition from oral to written communication. He is able to deploy in this inquiry not only the substantial body of scholarly work on Greek oral poetry but also his wide knowledge of the relevant materials from anthropology.

Havelock's central thesis is simple. No Greek of the archaic period could have asked the question "What is justice?" or could have possessed any understanding of justice that could have been presented as an answer to that question. The Greek words that we translate "just" and "justice" are used in procedures to arbitrate between rival claimants. They invoke the norms of established social custom as part of a set of formulaic definitions of proper behavior that are transmitted by oral poetry. In *Preface to Plato* Havelock described the Homeric poems as a "tribal encyclopedia," and he now uses this concept to identify and locate uses of words that we would translate by "just" and "justice." One major strand in Havelock's argument concerns the history of the verb "to be," *einai.* It is only, he contends, with literacy that the syntactical forms become available that enable us to use the verb "to be" to make statements and construct arguments about the nature of justice as a concept or principle; and Plato is the first author in whom such a concept or principle appears.

His thesis confronts three major difficulties. It is first of all, at least on the face of it, paradoxical to deny that in the *Oresteia* Aeschylus is wrestling with two rival and incompatible *concepts* of justice. When Havelock concludes that "nowhere in the drama of Aeschylus can we yet find out 'what justice is,' " his premises do not entail his conclusion; and his reading of the trilogy is unconvincingly at odds with that, for example, given by Hugh Lloyd-Jones in *The Justice of Zeus* (1971), a book whose compelling arguments Havelock tries to dispose of in an aside. This brusque refusal to recognize the substance of the case that he has to defeat also mars his encounter with two other difficulties. If he is right, then a good deal of distinguished work on Pre-Socratic thought, notably by Gregory Vlastos, is mistaken. But once again Havelock avoids encountering Vlastos's critical arguments. And there is of course a third major difficulty: philosophy on all the evidence we have seems to have been an oral activity before it was a literate one. Socrates wrote no books. Havelock considers this objection in half a paragraph, and half a paragraph is not enough.

ALASDAIR MACINTYRE
Boston University

ARTHUR KAPLAN. *Dictatorships and "Ultimate" Decrees in the Early Roman Republic, 501–202 B.C.* New York: Revisionist Press. 1977. Pp. 215. $44.95.

The aim of this book appears to be twofold: first, to draw attention to the fact that at least eighty-five Romans held dictatorships before the first century B.C.; second, to assert that the "ultimate decree," the decree the Senate passed in emergencies, was not a creation of the late Republic but was employed (as Livy says) on two earlier occasions, in 464 and 384 B.C., and to maintain that this decree did not give magistrates dictatorial or quasi-dictatorial powers. After an introduction specifying the various duties entrusted to dictators and what the ancient sources say about the ultimate decree, Arthur Kaplan proceeds to narrate in a straightforward chronological manner every action of each of the eighty-five dictators (and much else besides), inserts the two early decrees at the appropriate dates down the line, and declares (if I have understood him correctly) that these decrees can be considered authentic because the circumstances prevailing on those two occasions did not lend themselves to the appointment of dictators. An epilogue summarizes what is reported of dictators and ultimate decrees in the last century of the Republic. Then come lists of dictators and decrees, footnotes, and a bibliography.

The usefulness of this book, so far as I can see, is minimal. The important legal and constitutional issues involved in the "ultimate decree" are discussed thoroughly by A. W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican*

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Rome ([1968], pp. 149ff.)—a work Kaplan cites, though it appears to have made little impression on him. And those who want not only the sources for, but also references to, scholarly discussion on the eighty-five dictatorships will consult T. R. S. Broughton and Marcia L. Patterson, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 1 (1951); it appeared nearly thirty years ago, it is true, but few of the books Kaplan lists in his six-page bibliography are more recent.

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WILLIAM V. HARRIS. *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1979. Pp. 293. $39.00.

This book, the author tell us with a touch of severity, has analysis as its purpose. The modern quest has a modern subject: Why expansionism? Why war? For modern American intellectuals these are no doubt genuine questions, even in the case of Republican Rome, for whose leaders, very obviously, neither was true. Thus in the first chapter, on Roman attitudes towards war, we find the author earnestly seeking complicated justificatory notions. After searching Livy and Polybius, the author discovers only a natural, unquestioning acceptance of war as a necessity—frequent, often profitable, and usually glorious. And what else could he have found? After all, the Romans did not suffer from a post-Vietnam syndrome. A second chapter, devoted to the economic motive, is definitely more useful. Before reaching the expected answer that greed did play a role but that it was not the whole answer, the author offers us a good review of the more important modern literature with regard to the whole period from 327 to 70 B.C. In justification of the analytical cast, the author needs argument even if no worthy contention stands in need of demolition: thus we have a full-dress attack on the view that greed played no part whatever in motivating Roman expansion. To criticize so seriously a theory *prima facie* absurd is itself absurdity. Of course some have argued that extreme romantic-idealistic position (conquest is heroic work; heroes cannot be greedy; therefore . . .), but the author cannot pretend that the historians in question were anything but third-raters, now safely forgotten. The first-raters among the idealists were careful to admit the economic motive, sometimes giving it the salient role (for example, Mommsen on the destruction of Corinth).

In the short third chapter, the proportion of the useful increases further. Polybius and the lesser Roman sources are skillfully scrutinized to extract a clear definition of the conscious motive of Roman expansion. The outcome is predictable of course: the elite, in this case aristocratic, saw it as duty "to add to Rome's power." Can anyone still define the contrary for any elite in control of any state as not decadent—other priorities naturally not being excluded? Here as elsewhere it is the outsider inside, Polybius, who is most useful for he felt the need to explain what Roman sources mostly leave absent, as taken for granted.

The trend of usefulness versus mere "analytical" shadow-boxing, continues in a fourth chapter on annexation. There the author cuts away at luxuriant confusion. After 202 B.C. Rome continued to fight and win in the eased circumstances of a world in which Carthage was no more. And yet several major opportunities to annex rich lands were passed over. It is here that confusion intervenes: Mommsen in his day and E. Badian in ours, and a good many in between, have drawn the equation non-annexation equals non-expansion. The author is fully persuasive in demolishing the argument, seemingly self-evident: when the power of empires grows while territory does not, expansion has merely changed its form, from territorial to political. Instead of new provinces, there are client-states, fully under Roman control even if under local administration (as in British indirect rule in India through "native princes" or for that matter Soviet rule in Eastern Europe, through leaders ostensibly independent).

In the same vein, the last chapter demolishes another hardy contention, seductive to many: that Rome expanded in self-defense, always seeking security for what it had in another layer of conquest—only to find that it had reached a new frontier of insecurity that would need its own shield of further expansion . . . ad infinitum. Here matters are complex, rival theories contend, and sources do require reinterpretation, for the Romans did have a sense of transnational justice. But in the end, the author correctly remarks, insecurity too was eagerly searched for, to determine the locus of the next campaign.

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KARL CHRIST. *Krise und Untergang der Römischen Republik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1979. Pp. xv, 528.

This is neither textbook nor scholarly monograph. Karl Christ has produced a hybrid volume, without footnotes but with elaborate and carefully organized bibliography. It takes a circumscribed period for its subject, the last century and a half of the Roman Republic, treating some topics in loving detail,

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others with the briefest mention. Christ directs the book away from specialists; he avoids both close analysis of events and novel hypotheses about their meanings. Yet his work is ill-suited for novices or for the "general public." Advanced students can perhaps make most profit of it—a convenient review of the period based on the present state of research.

The author claims to offer an integrated presentation of the Roman experience between 200 and 31 B. C., combining social, economic, and intellectual history: a synthesis of narrative, problem-analysis, and historical reflections (pp. xiii–xiv, 14–15). All is subsumed under the central theme of a crisis faced by Rome leading to the fall of the Republic.

Results do not always match the intentions. Social and economic history, apart from occasional remarks, receive only one concentrated discussion, a very small portion of the book (pp. 67–92); the same for cultural and intellectual history (pp. 107–16, 406–23). Politics and war predominate. And here too the allotment of space is uneven, peculiarly so. Christ devotes thirty pages to Caesar's Gallic campaigns (pp. 325–55), yet can spare only a paragraph for the Jugurthine war (p. 153) and a mere four pages for a half-century of intermittent fighting in Spain (pp. 22–26). The triumviral period gets extended treatment at the conclusion of the book (pp. 424–62), but almost all of it is pure narrative, with minimal analysis and no clear signposts to the future. Christ seems to lose sight of his own stated objectives.

The effort to avoid scholarly controversy leaves some of the most central questions unanswered: the meaning of Roman brutality and exploitation in Spain; the nature of expansion into the Hellenistic east; the origins of the conflict between Rome and its Italian allies; the implications of the Catilinarian movement; the reasons for civil war between Caesar and Pompey; the aims of Caesar's dictatorship. Christ duly presents the relevant material on all these subjects but does not untie the knots.

Positive features of the book deserve emphasis as well. This is a realiable guide to the dramatic events of late Republican history, presented with clarity and balanced judgment. Christ's main theme does not trap him into portraying an inexorable disintegration of the Republic. Personalities and individuals take precedence over abstract forces. Unanticipated consequences prove more telling than human design. This holds for Roman expansion, for the Gracchi, for Marius, even for Augustus (pp. 63–65, 148, 229, 463). The major figures themselves, while effecting sharp change, endeavored to work within the established structure (pp. 229–30). Christ rightly observes the importance of Roman traditions and the continuity of Roman attitudes (p. 395). One may quarrel with particulars, but this work provides both a lucid exposition and a sensible overview of the later Roman Republic.

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WERNER ECK. *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit.* (Vestigia, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, number 28.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1979. Pp. xi, 326.

The last study concerning the organization of Italy under the principate, the book by C. Jullian, *Transformations politiques de l'Italie sous les empereurs romains* (1884), appeared almost one hundred years ago. Since that time, thanks to new epigraphical finds, the source basis has considerably increased, and many magisterial monographs have been written on various aspects of imperial government. Recently H. Galsterer discussed the organization of republican Italy (*Herrschaft und Verwaltung im republikanischen Italien* [1976]), and W. Simshäuser dealt with the administration of justice in Italy (*Iuridici und die Munizipalgerichtsbarkeit in Italien* [1973]), but still there was no new comprehensive book on the administration of imperial Italy. Thus, the book here under review fills a sore gap, and, as Werner Eck displays all the customary features of his scholarship, erudition, and sound judgment, it is bound to remain a standard work on the subject for the next several decennia.

First of all, it contains several prosopographical lists, which will often be consulted: the list of *curatores viarum*, the supervisors of roads; of *praefecti vehiculorum*, the officials in charge of the *cursus publicus*, the state dispatch and courier service; of *curatores rei publicae*, the supervisors of Italian cities, primarily of their finances; of *iuridici*, the officials in charge of the jurisdiction; and finally of various officers who administered the *alimenta*, the imperial program of social welfare. But the main importance of Eck's book resides in the structural problems of the imperial administration that it raises and elucidates.

A conspicuous trend in the history of the empire was the gradual but inexorable rise of the bureaucracy in the direct service of the emperor and the decline of both local autonomy and the administrative prerogatives of the Senate. With the exception of the city of Rome, this process was conspicuously slow in Italy for a number of reasons. Eck points out that the curtailment of local autonomy was not the goal of the government. It came about as a result of other concerns of the emperor. The emperor was interested in the two pillars of his power, the army and the money, and in a general docility of the populace. Italy paid no direct taxes, and no army was stationed in it, hence for a long time there was no

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need for a massive governmental intervention. The supervision of strategic roads, a military necessity, and the collection of indirect taxes introduced by Augustus did not require an elaborate administration. It was only the introduction of the governmental assistance (*alimenta*) to children of needy parents, primarily with a vew to encouraging the procreation of children, and the introduction of the permanent *curatores civitatium* in connection with the economic troubles and the plague under Marcus Aurelius that helped extend the governmental control to the cities of Italy. This had prepared the ground for the virtual reduction of Italy to the status of a province under Diocletian. In view of modern parallels this development is both interesting and disturbing.

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DIANA BOWDER. *The Age of Constantine and Julian.* New York: Barnes and Noble. 1978. Pp. xiii, 230. $30.00.

As Diana Bowder accurately notes, in recent years "the tides of historical fashion" have been turning slowly in favor of the study of the later Roman empire. Many works of fundamental scholarship have appeared to clarify aspects of this crucial period, but synthetic books have been slow in coming. The reader, therefore, approaches with considerable anticipation a book that is openly synthetic and attempts to make full use of the rich artistic and archeological material available for the explication of fourth-century society.

In order to be successful, however, a work of synthesis must be clear, judicious in selection of material and evidence, and, above all, accurate in detail. Unfortunately, *The Age of Constantine and Julian* disappoints on nearly every count. In terms of organization it is easy to see what the author had in mind: a bipolar structure in which the reigns of Constantine and Julian are opposed, with discussion of religious and cultural developments grouped around these two great figures. This, I think, is a misleading approach to the fourth century. In the first place, it compares two essentially dissimilar things: the thirty-year rule of Constantine and the two-year reign of his nephew. It results in an awkward attempt to attribute more to Julian than evidence allows.

By the nature of its organization, the book must focus on the conflicts between the policies of Constantine and those of Julian. Although those conflicts were real they were not the primary characteristics of the age. Discussion of the policies of Constantine, furthermore, is frequently blunted by references forward to those of Julian. More seriously, this approach leads the reader to overlook the period of the sons of Constantine, which was absolutely crucial not only to the success of Constantinian policy but also to the reaction of Julian. Finally, this particular organization precludes a really integrated use of the artistic and archeological evidence treated in separate sections under each emperor.

Even given the author's organization, important problems remain. Most serious is the simplification of the story of Constantine's "conversion" (pp. 22–23), where it surely begs the question to speak confidently of the chi-rho on the shields of Constantine's troops and the Eusebian authorship of the *Vita Constantini* while leaving undefined such explosive terms as "opportunism" and "superstition" (Constantine clearly *was* opportunistic in his hope that the Christian god would help him, but he was hardly superstitious in the Roman sense of that term). One encounters similar problems in the discussion of "serfdom" (pp. 41–42) and the conversion of Julian to paganism (pp. 98–99). It is not that the author is wrong in these passages but rather that she gives the reader no indication of the complexity of the topic or the direction of current research.

One should commend the author's inclusion of archeological evidence. More could have been done with eastern material, however, and greater care taken to integrate photographs with text. Finally, a few minor errors of fact need correction: Zosimus's date is now generally placed in the early sixth century (p. 30); the *collatio glebalis* was abolished before the *chrysargyron* (p. 38); a Christian angel replaced the goddess Victory (p. 92) well before the reign of Justinian II (which was not at the beginning of the seventh century); and grave goods are frequently found in Christian burials of the fifth century and later (p. 180).

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GLENN F. CHESNUT. *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius.* (Théologie Historique, number 46.) Paris: Éditions Beauchesne; distributed by Beauchesne—America, South Bend, Ind. 1977. Pp. 257. $19.50.

Titles of many books are incomplete summaries of the actual contents of the pages that follow, and indeed it is often difficult to express complex subject matters in a few words. The present volume is not an exhaustive and definitive treatment of the historians mentioned on the title page. Only thirty pages are devoted to Sozomen, Theodoret and Evagrius are treated in one chapter, and, again in one chapter, twenty-two pages are given to Socrates Scholas-

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ticus. Four chapters treat Eusebius and three others cover related subjects. Within these limitations, of course, only certain aspects of the characteristic features of the histories of Eusebius and his followers can be examined. This, however, is done by the author with skill and clarity.

The book begins with an excellent bibliography (pp. 13–29), after which there is an introduction (pp. 31–35) in which the author outlines the "two principal centers" of his interest, that is, "the motifs of Fate and Fortune" and "Rome and its emperor" (p. 33). Next the pagan background is presented (pp. 37–60), and here one finds a fine analysis of the Greek and Roman historians' concept of Fortune, Fate, *Kairos* (as the critical moment), miracles, omens, dreams, portents, and astrology, all of which raised serious problems for Christian historiography, which had to assert the omnipotence of God. Chapter 3 deals with Eusebius' philosophy of historical causation and his reinterpretations of the basic pagan ideas of Fate, Fortune, free will, and nature. Eusebius, we are told, believed that the Christian god was above Fate, but concerning Fortune he adopted the Aristotelian term "ta symbebekota" (the "accidents" of history [p. 69]) and used it in the sense "as that historical situation [that] had been created by all the things which had happened in the past" (p. 70). Similarly, free will and nature are under the all-encompassing providence of God by which he controls "the whole fabric of history" (p. 87). Chapter 4 is an outline of Eusebius' understanding of history as "salvation history," which extends from the creation of the world until the establishment of the perfect human state, "which stood at the culmination and end of history" (p. 118). This he envisioned in the form of the Christian empire, and this dream lived on in the idea of the Holy Roman Empire. Chapter 5 examines the "optimistic rationalism" of Eusebius' philosophy of history, and chapter 6 is an interesting essay on Eusebius' understanding of Constantine's role in salvation history. The author believes that in this case Eusebius was influenced on the one hand by the Hellenistic idea of kingship in which the king was looked upon as the "embodiment of the divine Reason or Logos" (p. 147) and on the other by the Hebrew idea of apocalyptic eschatology, and thus he expected the second coming of Christ to take place soon after the eschatological rule of the Constantinian dynasty. Chapter 7 is dedicated to Eusebius' continuator Socrates Scholasticus and chapter 8 to Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius and their philosophies of history. Chapter 9 is a summary of what these historians expected from the emperor and how their views influenced medieval and even later views of a Christian monarch. The book ends with a brief synthesis of the previous discussions.

This is a well-researched and well-documented study that all historians could read with benefit.

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MEDIEVAL

JEFFREY RICHARDS. *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752.* Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1979. Pp. viii, 422. $35.00.

Jeffrey Richards's study is based on the argument that the history of the early medieval papacy has been grossly misinterpreted in studies concentrating on papal ideological development. His announced goals, accordingly, are to show that papal history in the period A.D. 476–752 was not an insignificant period, if other than ideological developments are considered, and that there was no significant ideological innovation in the period, especially no such development vis-à-vis a theory of papal monarchy. In addition, Richards takes exception to the infelicitous phrase, "Byzantine Captivity," used by Walter Ullmann in 1972 to describe the period.

Unfortunately, although Richards has written a valuable narrative of some important aspects of papal history in the period and has appended to it a very useful analysis of the social and geographic origins of the popes and their administrative achievements, he has not attained his stated goals, despite his claim to have done so in the afterword to the work. As regards the issue of the "Byzantine Captivity," there is no argument, I think, that the label was an unfortunate one, which Ullmann would have done better to have foregone. But Richards has tried to imply that Ullmann meant the phrase to signify more than Ullmann in fact intended, and he has transformed it into a straw man in order to attack it. No one, least of all Ullmann, would argue that the popes of the seventh century were unwilling participants in the union of Rome and Constantinople. The fact that both papal and central Italian loyalty to the empire in the seventh and early eighth centuries was a matter of a voluntary commitment of Rome to the ideal of a Christian political union under the emperors has been basic to any recent attempt to untangle even the ideological problems of the period.

With respect to the matter of the ideological significance of the period, there are two matters of consequence to note. Although Richards discusses such matters as the Acacian schism, the controversy of the three chapters, and others very fully, his discussion of the much more significant iconoclastic controversy is sketchy in the extreme. Second, the fact that he ends his narrative with the death of

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Pope Zachary in A.D. 752 betrays the inherent weakness of his work. While we all know that historical periods are arbitrary constructs, ending discussion of the early medieval papacy in A.D. 752 is more than merely arbitrary. Richards has attempted to justify his argument that the period is not ideologically significant by simply ignoring the second half of the eighth century, the most significant ideological period in all of papal history between Leo the Great and Gregory VII. The papal secession from Byzantium, the Franco-papal alliance, the *Constitutum Constantini*, and the coronation of Charles do not become insignificant merely because Richards does not wish to discuss them, nor can they be excluded from discussion of the papacy and its relations with Byzantium from A.D. 476 onwards.

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TORE NYBERG. *Skt. Peters efterfølgere i brydningstider: Omkring pavedømmets historie Rom og Nordeuropa, 750–1200* [St. Peter's Successors in a Time of Crisis: About the Papacy, Rome, and Northern Europe, 750–1200]. (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, number 58.) Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag. 1979. Pp. 188. 120 KR.

In this work Tore Nyberg presents a well-argued and convincing thesis concerning the changing relationship between royal and papal power from roughly the time of Charlemagne to that of Innocent III. His argument, reduced to its barest essentials, is that the papacy viewed itself as equal spiritual partner of the universal state until the breakup of the Carolingian Empire. At that time, not two centuries later, decisive steps were taken toward the concept that the papacy was the leader of all secular states, not the partner of any single one.

The first two chapters describe the late classical orientation that was still preserved by the papacy during the first half of the ninth century, as evidenced by the Church's geographical divisions of Rome, its iconography, and its view of Western Europe as a spiritual and secular whole. The weakness of a divided Carolingian Empire—which was felt directly by Rome because of its vulnerability to Arab attacks—caused the popes of the period to change their earlier attitudes toward the Empire: now a greater degree of papal self-reliance would have to be assumed (chap. 3). By the latter ninth century the split between papal and imperial ideologies regarding universal powers had definitely appeared (chap. 4), the papal claim of independent universality being reinforced by the idea that the city of Rome was the sacred center of the world (chap. 5). The discussion of papal universalism is continued in the light of growing secular pluralism and renewed missionary endeavors during the tenth century (chap. 6). Beginning with direct papal protection of Cluny, a new "identity" was furnished for the Roman bishop, an identity that enabled him to bring cohesion to a Europe that was becoming increasingly pluralistic (chap. 7). Part of the last chapter gives an account of the familiar late eleventh-century battle between papacy and Empire, in which Henry IV is seen as fighting for the old-fashioned cause of imperial universality. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the historical philosophy of Joachim of Fiore, which is seen to mirror the triumph of papal universality over secular particularism.

This brief synopsis does not do justice to Nyberg's work, for his arguments are much more subtle than suggested here. His interpretations are usually stimulating, even if sometimes events or facts that might weaken them are not treated. For instance, Pope Gregory I, as recounted in the pages of Bede, seems to have viewed England in much the same particularistic sense that Nyberg says became evident only during the latter ninth century. And when discussing the missionary interests of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, the author apparently accepts a papal letter of 864 as genuine rather than as a forgery of 1074–75, even though it mentions peoples called "Greenlanders," "Icelanders," and "Faeroese": he cites the work of Matts Dreijer to show that these names could refer, respectively, to peoples inhabiting western Finland, the Åland Islands, and the island of Fårø, north of Gotland; but he does not discuss the much more obvious possibility that these names were suggested indirectly by Adam of Bremen, something that indeed would mean that the letter was a late eleventh-century forgery. These are only minor criticisms. There are, on the other hand, some major new interpretations. For instance, Nyberg shows that probably *Expositio super Isaiam* was written by Joachim of Fiore, not by one of his followers after his death, for only one other work of the period gives Norway only seven episcopacies and Sweden five, while omitting the North Atlantic episcopacies and the Swedish episcopacy of Växjö. The work is *Liber censuum* (ca. 1190), written by Cencius Savelli, whom Joachim visited in Rome in 1196.

In sum, Nyberg's work makes many contributions to our understanding of the papacy and its relations with transalpine Europe during the period 750 to 1200. In addition the volume is well organized, its maps and other illustrations are usually apt, and its author makes skillful use of the most recent work bearing on his subject.

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R. N. SWANSON. *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism.* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, number 12.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 245. $29.50.

Although an extensive literature concerning the Great Schism and the conciliar movement has emerged within recent years, R. N. Swanson now considers the ecclesiastical crisis from a previously unconsidered perspective. The book, a revised version of the author's Ph.D. dissertation at Cambridge, deals with the participation of European universities and academics in the debates generated by the schism, debates that led to the creation of a conciliarist formula adopted by the Council of Constance.

By 1381 Pierre d'Ailly provided the basic alternatives that would be discussed throughout the schism, that is, the way of resignation and the way of a council. In that first decade Conrad of Gelnhausen and Henry of Langestein also produced their seminal works. During the 1390s the University of Paris, with the support of the French king, was engaged in an intensive drive for the acceptance of *via cessionis*, the way of abdication vis-à-vis Avignon. After the failure of this policy in 1403, the center of activity shifted from France to the Italian obedience, where concern for union came to focus on conciliarism.

In 1407 the Roman cardinals initiated debates at the Unitersity of Bologna. That year also witnessed the final fruitless attempts to negotiate a settlement between the rival popes. From that time on, the Parisian masters and the Bolognese academics alike supported the *via concilii.* By 1409 the major tracts of Zabarella, d'Ailly, Gerson, Butrio, and Matasellanis were completed; and their completion marked the end of the development of conciliarist theory within the universities. Europe had turned to the universities and their members to formulate theories that would resolve the crisis. Once this task was accomplished, the universities were represented as mere external forces at both the Councils of Pisa and Constance.

Rather than being a spontaneous movement of the *congregatio fidelium*, the Council of Pisa was only one of three gatherings in 1409—Gregory and Benedict each held their own councils. The situation had changed by 1415, and the Council of Constance was both papally summoned and imperially supported. The flight of John XXIII allowed for fundamental changes in the structure of the council. At that point Jean Gerson's sermon was of crucial importance. He defined the council as the epitome of the full *ecclesia*, independent of the papacy and capable of assembling without the consent of the pope. The formal adoption of Gerson's thesis in the decree *Sacrosancta* transformed the gathering into a *congregatio fidelium.* Although the universities played only a passive role at the councils, the redefinition of the ecclesiastical constitution by the academics was their most important bequest to Constance and to succeeding generations of conciliarists and political theorists.

Swanson's discussion of the rival chancellors at Paris would have been enriched by the inclusion of Alan E. Bernstein's, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair: University and Chancellor of Paris at the Beginning of the Great Schism* (1978). A more detailed account of the medieval antecedents of conciliarism would have been helpful to the reader. In his analysis of Constance, the author could have made use of the diary of Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre. In addition, P. de Vooght's *Les pouvoirs du concile et l'autorité du pape au concile de Constance* (1965) is curiously missing from what is otherwise an excellent study.

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LUDOLF KUCHENBUCH. *Bäuerliche Gesellschaft und Klosterherrschaft im 9. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Sozialstruktur der Familia der Abtei Prüm.* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte number 66.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1978. Pp. xv, 443. DM 64.

The book under review is a study of the *familia* of the Abbey of Prüm, a royal Carolingian foundation holding extensive properties throughout the heartland of the Frankish empire—the *Francia media.* The interests of the author, Ludolf Kuchenbuch, lie in "sociological" history. He writes about structures, the functions of society as exemplified by the *familia* of the abbey. His book supplies details for the various theories of Marc Bloch, Georges Duby, and Karl Bosl. Kuchenbuch is also interested in the definition of "lordship," that is, the controls the abbey exercised over its dependents, and how these Prüm specifics fit into the social norms of the ninth century.

To achieve this, Kuchenbuch has re-examined the basic sources, the famous land registers of the ninth century. This includes the *Prümer Urbar*, a 893 document surviving in a copy of 1222. The Prümer Urbar has not been unknown but has rarely been used for social history. Kuchenbuch, however, does not confine himself to the *Urbar.* He uses the land registers of other abbeys as well as the charters from Prüm. He is not certain, however, that he can quantify the information. The study is thus a discussion of the *Prümer Urbar* and related documents, producing information about the peasant community, as well as a close look at the lordship the abbey held over its dependents, showing Prüm's place as a

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guide to the most important development of the ninth century, the change from a patriarchal society to the seignorial structure of lordship.

Kuchenbuch's research is truly immense; his detail is breathtaking and cautiously applied to the theories. His conclusions are valuable not only to the specialist but also to other medievalists, for his findings show that general assumptions as to the nature of peasant society and the connection to its rulers should be treated with care.

There are five points in Kuchenbuch's conclusion: (1) The social structure of the Prüm *familia* shows the majority of the peasants as legally "servile," paying rents consisting mostly of labor services; slaves were unimportant; the *ministri* or overseers themselves had small estates; as yet the abbey did not exercise either economic or legal lordship over the entire population. This the author calls *domanialer Patrimonialismus*. (2) Those men who served the abbey internally were given prebends; the abbey was not yet fortified and was situated in the country. (3) The abbey had vassals: free men performing various military, administrative, and judicial services. (4) The higher nobility connected with the abbey were donors of lands. (5) The monastic community drew its social elite from this higher nobility, among them the historian Regino. Kuchenbuch concludes that the Abbey of Prüm in the ninth century might be taken as a typical example of early medieval monastic lordship, without, however, forgetting its unique qualities or its gradual development into a more seignorial structure.

These conclusions are important for the study of ninth-century history. Unfortunately, Kuchenbuch's prose style renders them almost inaccessible. The author has adopted the worst excesses of a sociological "jargon" derived from English and has produced a very curious German indeed. Sociological history undoubtedly needs to use technical terms not readily translated, but here this tendency has become regrettable. Non-German specialists will try to cope, but less interested readers will put the book aside after the second page, which surely is a pity for Kuchenbuch does precisely what many historians are always asking for: he manages to supply the theories with a solid basis of fact.

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M. T. CLANCHY. *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 330. $18.50.

MICHAEL RICHTER. *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*. (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, number 18.) Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1979. Pp. 235. DM 136.

M. T. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record* is an admirably thorough and clearly presented study of the stimulus to literacy afforded by the proliferation of written documents and records during the period from the Norman Conquest to the early fourteenth century. Beginning with the pipe rolls of the exchequer in the twelfth century, English royal documents accumulated rapidly, often creating a need for further documents on the local level, a need that extended even to serfs, who by 1300 were using charters. The rapid increase in central bureaucratic activity during the thirteenth century is described in some detail, with special attention to the work of Hubert Walter. Royal precedent inspired imitation by the bishops and by barons and knights. Clanchy provides a careful survey of kinds of medieval records—charters, chirographs, certificates, letters close, memoranda, financial and legal records, chronicles, cartularies, registers, and even literary works. There is a very useful section on the techniques of writing and another on the preservation and use of documents in monasteries, royal archives, and libraries.

Part 2, "The Literate Mentality," discusses the variety of languages used in England, including Hebrew, and the use of conventionalized languages of record, especially in legal procedures. There is an interesting and useful section on the changing concept of literacy during the later Middle Ages and an account of the growth of literacy stimulated by administrative procedures during the later part of the period under consideration. This contains some fresh material on the subject of educated knights. The final sections of the book are concerned with changing attitudes toward oral and written records, with the gradual development of trust in documents. There are discussions of the use of symbolic objects, the reluctance to abandon oral testimony for written words, and the tendency to "hear" documents when they were used rather than to read them silently. Because of the special techniques required for actual transcription, "writing" frequently meant dictating. In this connection the use of oral "counting" in legal procedures, not abandoned until the fifteenth century, is especially illuminating, as is the emphasis on calligraphy and design rather than textual accuracy in some kinds of books. There is a final section on the gradual rise of trust in writing with attention to the growing habit of precise dating of documents and to the use of seals and crosses. Forgery is described as a product of the gradual transition from oral to written records. The last section of the book is a convenient summary. This is a work rich in detail whose thesis is convincingly developed, although the author may be

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overly optimistic about the literacy of manorial reeves. whose accounts to their stewards were often prepared and delivered by local clerks.

Michael Richter's study, which covers the same period, is concerned specifically with the place and function of each of the various languages used in England. After an introductory chapter, there is a section on language and society in the twelfth century. This examines the linguistic capabilities of the rulers of the period, including those of Alexander I of Scotland. Richter then turns to ecclesiastics, beginning with the bishops and proceeding to the lesser clergy and their parishioners. The special problem of Wales, which was not provided with Welsh-speaking bishops, is considered, and attention is given to the use of translators in crusade sermons. The contemplatives are considered in some detail. The general conclusion is that Latin was a second or third language among clerics who knew it, French either a second or third language except among foreigners, and English rarely a second speech, although it was by no means confined to persons of low rank.

In the second major section of his book Richter considers the languages of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, beginning with a discussion of the relationship between rulers and their people that covers some of the same ground covered by Clanchy, whose assistance in the form of suggestions is acknowledged in a footnote. Considerable attention is devoted to the use of public proclamations, especially toward the end of the period. There are sections on Scotland, on the languages of the law, and on prelates and their parishioners. The last calls attention to the influence of the Fourth Lateran Council and to the necessity of finding priests who could instruct their parishioners in their native tongue. There is a further discussion of the religious orders. By the mid-fourteenth century language had become a key to nationality, although noblemen were taught French. The concluding section of the book is an analysis of the languages used in the process of canonization of Thomas Cantilupe. Richter's study focuses attention on the peculiar problems of oral communication in the multilingual society of late medieval England.

Both of these books should be welcomed for their careful research. Clanchy's work is especially stimulating for new insights and fresh conclusions.

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BARBARA A. HANAWALT. *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 358. $20.00.

This book by Barbara A. Hanawalt is based primarily on six articles that she published from 1974 to 1978, but she has rearranged the material and has added findings from five additional English counties so that the total number of criminal cases that provide the statistics is now in excess of 22,000. Her source of information is the gaol delivery rolls at the Public Record Office, which means she is dealing very largely with felonies, and thus that substantial area of lesser crime that may be called misdemeanor is omitted.

Following a chapter on the social and judicial context of fourteenth-century crime, deriving for the most part from work already in print, Hanawalt deals fruitfully in turn with crimes, suspects, victims, gangs, external influences on the pattern of criminal activity, and finally the impact of crime on society. Her viewpoint throughout, unlike that of many scholars who have worked in this field, is that of the sociologist, not the lawyer, and she makes frequent comparisons with similar phenomena in modern societies ranging from eighteenth-century Sicily to twentieth-century America. Enlightening as this is at times, it seems to me that historians might prefer to have comparisons drawn with other medieval societies or at least with the Tudor age. To reinforce her arguments Hanawalt also makes considerable use of the literature of the age. Again, some of this is helpful, but other pieces do not have any direct connection with fourteenth-century England.

In general Hanawalt has a sure touch in regard to the social aspects of her study, but she is clearly less at ease with legal niceties of crime and the political history of the period. Definitions of offenses and procedural points like benefit of clergy cause some difficulty and there are some odd persons and places: for example, "Justice Roger Bellers," "the Earl of Warenne," "Wigmore" (Roger Mortimer, Earl of March), "Mynton in Swaledale," "Harrowgate."

There are several points of a more than particular nature emerging from the study that I do not remember meeting in Hanawalt's articles in so positive a form. She argues that in many ways "the victims of felonies were very much like the accused. They were predominantly aggressive young males from established village families" (p. 182) and that very possibly "a key to understanding medieval crime lies in the youthfulness of the population" (p. 127). There were "few professionals and no class that could be called criminal" (p. 273); the criminal law was frequently used as a weapon of social conflict, although in the Ramsey abbey villages there seem to have been "mutual agreements not to convict in order to avoid reprisals" (p. 63); political struggles among the nobility seem to have affected the incidence of crime but little (p. 260).

All in all, Hanawalt is much to be commended for her great labor on the gaol delivery rolls. The

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book is not a particularly polished piece of work, but it stimulates and provokes persistently. I am happy to give it space on my shelves.

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ELIYAHU ASHTOR. *The Jews of Moslem Spain.* Volume 2. Translated by AARON KLEIN and JENNY MACHLOWITZ KLEIN. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1979. Pp. 381. $12.00.

In this book, second of a projected three-volume translation of the Hebrew original, Eliyahu Ashtor weaves together the various strands of Jewish life in eleventh-century Muslim Spain. He does this, moreover, in the context of a general historical survey of the socioeconomic, intellectual, and political realities of eleventh-century Spain.

The book opens with a short chapter describing the distintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate (1009) and the diffusion of political power to regional centers, ushering in the period of the "provincial kings" (*mulūk aṭ-ṭawā'if, Reyes de Taifas*). This fragmentation had a significant effect on Spanish Jewry. It encouraged the renewal of close contacts with the leaders and institutions of Jewish life in Eastern Islamic lands, fostered important demographic changes within the Jewish community, and allowed for increased Jewish participation in the country's economy and politics. The second chapter traces the careers of Samuel Ibn Nagrīla (993–1056) and his son Joseph (1035–66). Combining, as they did, high political office in the Ṣinhādja kingdom of Granada and leadership of the Jewish community, their biographies allow for a detailed examination of Jewish life in a paradigmatic Muslim principality of the post-Caliphate era. They also permit a thorough treatment of the relationships that existed in that period among the various Muslim groups and between them and their denominational minorities. Finally, Ashtor concludes with an overview of the remaining regions of Muslim Spain, their major population centers, and, therein, the topography, economy, and culture of Jewish settlement. In this sketch he notes two basic trends: a progressive shift of population and strength to the northern (that is, Christian) frontier; and a "ballet of agnosticism in thought and deed," which, as it spread within the Jewish community, "prepared the ground for apostasy."

The book is not without its shortcomings. The translation follows the original and succeeds in preserving much of the original's style. At times, however, there is a loss of nuance or a change of tone. This is likely the result of the translator's not following Ashtor's sentence structure. There are also some minor inconsistencies and lacunae in the text itself. Ashtor relates, for example, that Joseph's plot against the Ṣinhādja had been betrayed to the king's grandson (p. 183). This betrayal was an ultimate compromise of Joseph's position. There is, however, no further reference to this in the text or notes. The most serious defect, however, is Ashtor's rare but important indulgences in generalization without adequate supporting documentation or argumentation. Such is his contention that skepticism and agnosticism were the *chief* characteristics of Spanish culture at that time (p. 26f.).

This volume is, nonetheless, an excellent addition to historical literature in English. Ashtor, as is clearly evident from both text and notes, has brought to this work a mastery of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian sources. His vast erudition, integrative approach, and deft literary style (preserved in the translation) combine to render this survey a valuable tool for the study of both Spain and its Jewish communities under the rule of Islam.

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UTE RÖDEL. *Königliche Gerichtsbarkeit und Streitfälle der Fürsten und Grafen im Südwesten des Reiches, 1250–1313.* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im Alten Reich, number 5.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1979. Pp. xliv, 215. DM 68.

It has long been recognized that one of the consequences of the rapid disintegration of royal power in Germany in the thirteenth century was the decline of resort to royal justice. The crown had failed to construct a system of institutionalized justice independent of the king and paid the price. Yet it has also been known for some time that, from Rudolf of Habsburg onward, the role of the king as arbitrator became increasingly distinctive. Rudolf and his successors came to act less and less as formal judges, more and more as conciliators and arbiters.

Historians have habitually regarded this shift negatively, as a sign of the decay of royal authority. In this 1978 Mainz dissertation Ute Rödel argues for a more positive view of the king's growing arbitrative function. While admitting that its appearance signified and accelerated the deterioration of royal judicial authority in the strict sense, she contends that it not only represented an intelligent response to a most difficult situation but also offered a number of advantages over the normal judicial process. Justice was dispensed more quickly than in the *Hofgericht*; the king in no way depended on the princes, precedent, or established procedure; nor was he bound to find simply between right and wrong but rather could propose compromises acceptable to all parties. The kings were thereby able to continue to discharge their duty to maintain

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peace and even in some ways to widen its compass and their flexibility of action. Rödel restricts her focus to the kings' acting as arbitrators for the counts and the "princes" of the German southwest (and in her discussion of the "princes" incidentally shows, as have others before her, that Ficker's conception of a *Reichsfürstenstand* was too rigid and legalistic). One would like to know how many north German nobles and how many nonaristocrats similarly appealed to the crown in this early period, for the many petitions from all manner of subjects received by later kings like Maximilian I make it abundantly clear how successful this response had proved in sustaining the popular view of the king as the font of all justice, if not of law. But within the limits she has set herself, Rödel has nevertheless rendered us a real service.

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MANLIO BELLOMO. *Saggio sull'università nell'età del diritto comune*. Catania: Editrice Giannotta. 1979. Pp. 290. L. 8,500.

This volume surveys the development of the north Italian student universities of law, and of the teaching faculties associated with them, from the later twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries. Most of the evidence, naturally, comes from Bologna, the chief center of legal studies in the period; the author has, however, also drawn upon Paduan and other sources.

The great strength of this work is its integration of university history with urban socioeconomic and political history. The author retraces the early development of academic institutions in the light of current understanding of the society and politics of the north Italian communes. Manlio Bellomo aligns himself with those scholars who have maintained that the formation and early growth of universities of law in Bologna was closely connected with the rise of the *populus*. On the one hand, the presence of a large body of nonnative students provided a market for the goods and services supplied by numerous artisans and small tradesmen; and, on the other, the nonnoble origins of many students and their status as outsiders made the *populus* their natural political ally. Just as the *populus*, over the course of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, became an articulate and self-conscious body, which was ultimately to demand and obtain a role in government, so the students asserted their identity and collective self-interest in regard both to the government of the commune and to their professors. Explicit identification of the *universitas scholarium* with "the other corporations of the *populus* of Bologna" appears in the statutes of the government of the *populus* of 1288–89 (p. 103). Hence, Bellomo further suggests (p. 216), there was probably a substantial reduction in the power of the student universities, along with that of the other corporations of the city, under signorial rule in the fourteenth century. Throughout, the professors of Bologna, whose elevated status reflected not only the value placed on their intellectual attainments but also, in many instances, their membership in a closely knit group of influential citizen families, sought to protect their own social, economic, and academic interests. The various ways in which and the various authorities by which professors might be selected, appointed, and remunerated in the Italian *studia* reveal how the several parties involved perceived their own interests at different times.

The author also provides a valuable account, based in part on his own earlier studies of the use of *quaestiones disputate* in legal teaching, of developments in pedagogy, and of the way in which these were reflected in book production and its regulation. Again, his talent for placing academic practices in a very specific social and economic context is in evidence.

The present reviewer feels some regret that, from a work that provides what is in so many ways a comprehensive account of early Italian university development, the universities of arts and medicine were excluded. Those concerned with medieval university history will nonetheless find this a useful book. One trusts, moreover, that its existence will not be overlooked by social and urban historians.

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LEONIDAS MAVROMATIS. *La fondation de l'empire Serbe: Le kralj Milutin*. (Byzantina Keimena Kai Meletai, number 16.) Salonika: Kentron Byzantinōn Ereynōn. 1978. Pp. 176.

King Milutin of Serbia is one of the most important and most interesting figures in medieval Serbian history. His long rule (1282–1321), strong personality, and great military and diplomatic ability left an indelible mark on Serbian history; and it was in his reign that Serbia became oriented toward conquering Byzantine lands. A book about a ruler of this kind should be a fascinating study, not only of the man himself but also of the time and the milieu that produced and supported him. Unfortunately, Leonidas Mavromatis has not produced such a work.

After a short and very incomplete list of sources and secondary works, followed by a brief introduction, Mavromatis, in seventy-one pages, analyzes the coming to power of Milutin, his early po-

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litical options, his "political choice," and the last years of the Serbian kingdom. He deals only with the period 1282–1331, disregarding the fact that Serbia was a kingdom until 1345, when Dušan proclaimed himself emperor.

Mavromatis, by interpreting well-known sources in new ways, is attempting a revision of some generally accepted notions about medieval Serbian history. His revision, however, is a tenuous one, based very largely on assumptions and interpretations of sources that can easily be questioned. Thus, he contends that Milutin was not expansionist at the expense of Byzantium, conquering Byzantine territory in Macedonia only to satisfy his nobles, and that those conquests were "a necessity for Milutin who entered in this way into contact with Byzantium" (pp. 50, 54, 61). This would certainly be a curious way to attract the attention of an empire by which, allegedly, the Serbs were still impressed. Incidentally, Mavromatis's attempts to change the chronology of the conquest of northern Macedonia by Milutin are as unconvincing as is his acceptance of the thesis of Pachymeres that Milutin's Serbia was a sort of Byzantine appendage (pp. 52–53).

It is impossible in a brief review to list other controversial and unconvincing statements in Mavromatis's book. It is imperative to point out, however, that there is no reference in the volume to the Serbian economy in Milutin's day. No book on Serbia in this period can be written without appropriate attention being paid to mining and its enormous impact on all walks of Serbian life, including the activities of Milutin. Mavromatis managed to write the whole book without even once mentioning mining. True, he does mention the wealth of the Serbian court (pp. 43, 49), but he never questions where it came from. The oversight can, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that Mavromatis scarcely touched upon the sources from Dubrovnik, although the vital role of that city in Serbian economi life, especially mining, has been long since well established.

A puzzling matter is why, beginning with the title, Mavromatis insists on calling Milutin and all other Serbian rulers by their Slavic title, *kralj*? Does he want to indicate in this way that they were not equals of Western kings? If this is the case, he seems to have forgotten that the Serbian royal crown came from Rome in 1217 and that all Serbian kings were recognized as *reges* by such Western powers as France, Venice, the Papacy, Dubrovnik, and so forth. It is also regrettable that the volume has no index and that it contains an excessive number of misprints. Furthermore, the map is less than accurate (for example, Dubrovnik was never part of Serbia).

One should, however, note that Mavromatis has done us a significant service by republishing Metochites' report on his embassy in Serbia (text and photos), the treaty between Milutin and Charles of Valois, and the document of ratification of that treaty—all texts not easy to obtain. Mavromatis's conclusions, although not stated very clearly, sound interesting. He hints at a book on Serbian society that he intends to write, and one can only wish that it be far more thorough than this one. Milutin deserves better treatment, and he is still waiting for a fitting biographer.

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MODERN EUROPE

ROBERT MANDROU. *From Humanism to Science, 1480–1700.* Translated by BRIAN PEARCE. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1979. Pp. 329. $22.00.

This work appeared originally in French in 1973. The translation appeared in England in 1978 as a volume in the Pelican *History of European Thought.* The present American edition is listed as a "text edition." The work covers a vast range of topics in a limited space. There are no footnotes identifying quotations, sources, authorities, and so on. The bibliography is sparse, considering all of the matters covered, and the American student will find that the bulk of the bibliography consists of works in French.

The material in the book is broken down by Mandrou into five chapters: "The New Worlds and New Intellectuals (1480–1520)," "From Church to Churches (1520–1560)," "Regroupings and Confrontations (1560–1600)," "Mystics and Freethinkers (1600–1640)," and "The Scientific Spirit (1640–1700)." In spite of the artificiality of the schema, it does allow for the organization of an enormous amount of data into a somewhat coherent and structured pattern. Mandrou concentrates on what happened to the intellectuals as a class from the Renaissance to the early Enlightenment. There is little new in the volume for scholars of the period even though Mandrou, in his specialized works, has certainly enlarged our knowledge. For American students there are some serious problems. Many minor figures are not identified. Their importance is not indicated. Also, the books examine events first from a French and then Western European perspective. The New World is ignored except for its discovery. Mandrou rarely mentions divergent interpretations of the data. One major exception concerns Jansenism (which gets more space

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than the Royal Society of England, than the Jews, than Calvinism). Here Mandrou discusses at length the Marxist interpretations of Franz Borkenau and Lucien Goldman.

One of Mandrou's heroes is Spinoza, whom he sees as a very important figure in development of the scientific outlook. In presenting him, however, the author puts forward some erroneous or dubious information. (There are errors in other parts of the book, too.) We are told that a major reason for Spinoza's expulsion from the synagogue was his consistent presentation of Cartesianism. Nobody has found any evidence of this or evidence that Spinoza knew about Descartes's philosophy prior to his expulsion. Spinoza's *Ethics*, contrary to Mandrou's text, was first published only posthumously in 1677, and Burgh was not Spinoza's disciple at the time he exchanged letters with Spinoza. They were much at loggerheads because Burgh had become a Catholic and was trying to convert Spinoza.

The occasional errors notwithstanding, however, Mandrou offers a huge synthesis based on showing how the role of intellectuals changed between 1480 and 1700 from their role as churchmen to humanists, scientists, and political advisers. It is interesting to watch how he puts everything together. The scholar will want to see the evidence for the big and the small claims. The student, I fear, will be given too facile a system for ordering a vast amount of data. And, unfortunately, some of the data may be hard to assimilate or digest, namely that concerning the many, many minor characters who are mentioned or cited.

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RENÉ PILLORGET. *La tige et le rameau: Familles anglaise et française, XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1979. Pp. 324. 59 fr.

René Pillorget has written a general history of the French and the English family between 1500 and 1800. He has chosen these two countries, because the work on them has been most extensive and because they are both part of Western Christian culture. Between 1500 and 1750 their familial structures were roughly parallel, except for the divergences caused by English Puritanism and the decrees of the Council of Trent. After 1750, two more important kinds of divergences occurred: the traditional family was affected by secularization and the growing independence of women and children, and the experience of the two countries markedly diverged because of political revolution in France and industrialization in England. Before 1750, Pillorget argues, the principal influence on the family was the church. The Christian morality of the family took the conjugal relationship as its central point, presuming a rough equality between the partners as each possessed an immortal soul in need of salvation. Pillorget therefore organizes his book around the life of the couple. He begins with a discussion of marriage as both sacrament and contract. He then takes up, in turn, endogamy and marital friendship; the division of labor and property between the sexes; the production and care of children; the structure of the household and relations with servants, clients, and kinsmen; and, finally, sexual behavior outside of Christian marriage and its consequences. He suggests that the family must be considered under the two separate headings of household and kinship and that a major change over these centuries was the contraction of concern from lineage to household. But he by and large ignores these points (with which there are some difficulties in any case), because, as he says, the family for the church was composed of husband, wife, and children: it was the nuclear family that Jesus founded at the marriage at Cana. And it is the history of this Christian nuclear family that he has set out to find between 1500 and 1750, with an occasional reminder that Protestantism, in its beginnings at any rate, was inclined to revive the patriarchal family of the Old Testament.

But it is surely as anachronistic to find the nuclear family of twentieth-century Christian ideology in the early modern period as it is misguided to look there for the nuclear family of modern sociology. The material can certainly be arranged to fit the argument, especially when one is filling in a preordained pattern with demographic series. (It does not always work: the material on the attitudes toward death was gathered under a different rubric and does not fit easily under that of the family.) But the literary materials that Lawrence Stone and myself have recently assembled for England show that it is improbable to speak of equality in domestic relations before 1750. The role and status of the servant (which Pillorget relatively ignores) was far more central to the understanding of patriarchal family relations before 1750 than the relationship of husband and wife. It is also likely that the relative preference of ecclesiastical law for equality and of secular law for male dominance is explicable less in terms of Jesus' preaching than of the structural differences between the kindred and the lineage. These differences had been central to traditional European kinship since the eleventh century, but Pillorget cannot see this since he uses kin and lineage simply as alternative terms for the same thing.

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MICHAEL R. WEISSER. *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe.* (Pre-Industrial Europe 1350–1850, number 2.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 193, $26.25.

This is the first of several projected works on crime in the early modern period. Almost certainly, it will prove to be the most ephemeral: for its ambitious title conceals a superficial and often misleading treatment of a topic that is dauntingly complex and still largely uninvestigated.

It is difficult to identify the audience toward which a work containing only twenty footnotes and little original investigation or thought is directed. Presumably, it was intended for the much sinned-against seminar student as a synthesis of work in print. If so, the author might at least have been careful to include references to such important recent works as Ignatieff's *A Just Measure of Pain* (1978), perhaps at the expense of unpublished essays cited as if they were in fact in print (p. 190). Much more importantly, however, he ought to have realized that a synthetic work on crime in an area as diverse as early modern Europe is manifestly premature. Almost every page reflects the paucity, unevenness, and in many instances total absence of published work, a fact that, of itself, precludes any meaningful comparison between the various European states. Thus the book has, perforce, more voids than substance and no natural continuity. Superficial form is contrived by implying patterns where none exist and neatness where the picture is at present a patchwork of inconsistencies and unknowns. The few detailed illustrations are drawn almost exclusively from Spain (the author's area of special interest), whose experience of crime shows every sign of being atypical. Nevertheless, these Spanish vignettes form the basis for a series of sweeping and vaguely Marxist inferences about the nature and incidence of European crime. Among the more serious distortions that result from this exercise are profiles of rural and urban theft that bear little resemblance to the well-documented English experience (pp. 18, 39, 44, 45); a gross perversion of the legal position of "the upper classes" (p. 40); the convenient, but mistaken, exclusion of "criminal gangs" from rural areas (p. 46); a misapprehension of the theory and practice of English criminal procedure (pp. 52–54); the perpetuation of erroneous and discredited assertions about crime in Elizabethan Essex in the course of an extended comparison with sixteenth-century Toledo (pp. 78–81); unsupported, and probably mistaken, generalizations about the social composition of English trial juries (p. 102); and the treatment of torture as if it were a punishment rather than a method of obtaining proof under the Continental codes (pp. 127–31). All this is packaged in prose that is not only drab and imprecise but also lapses all too frequently into the sociologists' shorthand world of "service industries," "economic rhythms," and, more provocatively, the "class basis" of crime and the criminal law.

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RICHARD MILLMAN. *Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875–1878.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 613. $49.95.

Since 1975 a series of centenaries have passed marking major events in Balkan history and in the evolution of the Eastern Question. The revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer of 1875 was followed by the uprising in Bulgaria in April and May 1876, the Serbo-Montenegrin war against the Ottoman Empire in June and July 1876, and, finally, the declaration of war by Russia on the Ottoman Empire in April 1877. This conflict was concluded by the Treaty of San Stefano of March 1878, a pact whose terms were subsequently modified by the representatives of the great powers meeting in Berlin in June and July. This period of intense diplomatic and military activity resulted in the acquisition of independence by three Balkan states—Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro—and the formation of an autonomous Bulgaria. As could be expected, these events have produced a large number of publications in the past few years, particularly in the Balkan states and the Soviet Union. It is thus an appropriate time for the appearance of this valuable study, which examines the British attitude in these crises and the shifts in policy caused to a large extent by the reaction of British public opinion, first, to press reports of the atrocities committed by Ottoman irregular troops during the suppression of the Bulgarian revolt, and, second, to the apparent danger in the spring of 1878 that Russia might attain diplomatic and military predominance in the Balkans.

The principal attention in this book has been given not to the diplomatic negotiations, which have been exhaustively covered elsewhere, but to the domestic pressures that determined policy. The issues that divided the Conservative and Liberal Parties and the individuals and factions within them are carefully examined. A strong point in the account is the attention given to Lord Derby, the foreign secretary, whose influence is sometimes underestimated in comparison to that of his more spectacular contemporaries, Disraeli and Gladstone. For the reviewer, one of the most valuable sections of this uniformly excellent account is the analysis of the reaction to the sensational press reports of the

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Bulgarian events, which the author describes as "one of the deepest, most varied, and most prolonged outbursts of public feeling ever to manifest itself in a people not usually given to extravagant public displays of private feeling" (p. 176). Headed primarily by church leaders, both nonconformist and high church, the movement produced violent attacks not only on the Ottoman government but on the Islamic faith as such. These feelings were well expressed by the Duke of Argyll, who in September 1876 declared: "I begin with this proposition, that the Turkish Government is bad, so execrably bad, that any and every rebellion against it on the part of its Christian subjects is presumably just and righteous . . ." (p. 240). These emotions were strong enough to compel the Conservative government under Disraeli to abandon the traditional British policy of supporting Ottoman territorial integrity. A second shift occurred in March 1878 when the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano appeared to threaten British interests in the Near East. Instead of returning to the previous principles, the British government henceforth was to agree to a partition of Ottoman lands, as shown, for instance, in its acquisition of Cyprus and later Egypt.

The author has based his narrative on a vast amount of material, both printed and archival. The text reflects a thorough knowledge of the extensive bibliography of this period, and it offers original contributions. Although the emphasis is on Britain, general European diplomatic questions are included. The attitude toward Ottoman and Balkan problems is balanced and objective. This book is certainly one of the best on the Eastern Question and on British foreign policy in general.

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GIAMPIERO CAROCCI. *L'età dell'imperialismo.* (Universale Paperbacks Il Mulino, number 90, part 3; Profili di Storia Contemporanea, number 3.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 1979. Pp. 326. L. 5,000.

Giampiero Carocci's volume covers 1870–1914 for Mulino's series "Profili di Storia Contemporanea." Reading it, I thought of a paper entitled "Scrapping Theories of Imperialism" presented by Norman Etherington at the American Historical Association meeting in San Francisco in 1978. Etherington argued that the classic analyses of Hobson, Lenin, Schumpeter, Luxemburg, and Kautsky cannot be tested solely through the study of the economic motivation for the acquisition of empire, the customary and poorly posed "imperialism problem." Rather, the proper historical investigation of these theories must involve addressing what was the main concern of those authors, the consequences as well as the origins of economic nationalism in advanced capitalist states, of territorial aggrandizement, yes, but also the rise of militarism and autocratic government. The terrain of "imperialism" includes Europe as well as colonies overseas.

Carocci shares this view. He never gives up a search for the economic taproot of empire. The familiar notions of monopoly capital, surplus product, and underconsumption gird the narrative, as the conventional "imperialism problem" is posed again. But like the master critics of the left and their modern followers, his broader concern is an analysis of aspects of an age. He defines imperialism as the conjunction of controls by which dominating economic interests extend their power abroad while deflecting democratic aspirations at home. This conjunction, he argues, was the essential feature of the time. The term imperialism connotes the "concentration of the typical aspects of world history in this period" (p. 7), the vehicle of political as well as economic domination. This synoptic view and his insistence on a global perspective give the volume its interpretive strength.

Chapters on the nations of Europe and on the United States argue that social integration was sought through association with territorial expansion, which meant to subvert the political and social demands of emergent mass movements with as little dislocation as possible to the established order. Chapters on Japan, the Near East, and Latin America conclude that the consequences of being brought into the world market were social dislocation, commercial dependence, and belligerent nationalism led by a new middle class. There is plenty of detail, but some of the interpretations are not convincing. The discussion of the breakdown of a bourgeois synthesis is sketchy. The connection between internal disorder and international instability is not established. The mechanisms of political control are vague. Ideas play little part, except when cited to reveal systemic weakness. Recent ideas of "excentric" or collaborative imperialism are not discussed. There are, in short, more ways to look at this period than Carocci's indictment suggests.

Yet the book is a masterful synthesis by a well-regarded historian versed in the modern literature. Carocci writes in a manner, and with a passion, that reminds me of Hobsbawm's. The book will undoubtedly be widely read in Italy.

GEORGE W. BAER
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HONORÉ M. CATUDAL, JR. *The Exclave Problem of Western Europe.* Foreword by ELEANOR LANSING DULLES. Uni-

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versity: University of Alabama. 1979. Pp. xiii, 126. $12.50.

According to Jean Gottman, a definition of territory must be relational. The very nature of this relationship between the people and their space and its significance to the practice and the doctrines of politics have varied through recorded history. In this volume Honoré M. Catudal, Jr., examines an inhabited territorial unit of space, known as an exclave, and its relationship to its home and host states. The problems posed by exclaves have plagued international relations in the past and continue to do so to the present day. To clarify the problems, the author has used "a comparative approach based largely on the historical evolution of exclaves."

Before analyzing the exclave phenomenon Catudal discusses the problem of terminology. Exclaves are simply "political islands" surrounded on all sides by a host state. An exclave may never be totally self-governing but is somehow subordinate to the home state. It can be categorized as an outlier, but it is unique from other outliers such as "pene-," "virtual," or "temporary" exclaves. After sorting out the terminology, the next two chapters provide a discussion on the origin of the exclave with the development of the modern state system. The historical evolution of Germany's exclave problems following the Peace of Westphalia is examined as well as that of the exclaves of France, the Netherlands, Geneva, and the outliers of India-Pakistan.

The next three chapters focus on modern European exclaves that have survived over the centuries of nationalism and two world wars. They continued to pose administrative and economic problems for both the home and host states. Using as examples Llivia, a Spanish exclave in France, Büsingen, a German exclave in Switzerland, Campione, an Italian exclave in Switzerland, and the complicated intermingling of the Belgian and Dutch jurisdictions of Baarle-Duc and Barle-Nassau, Catudal explains how these exclaves have managed to evade incorporation by the host states. Despite all of the problems that exclaves face in surviving today, the most significant obstacle that they have to overcome is access, the right of an exclave to cross foreign territory in order to maintain communication with the homeland. The general conclusion reached by the author is that private individuals and civilian government officials are usually allowed freedom of travel from the home state to the exclave; when the home state considers sending a military force into the exclave, however, access is closed. Another pressing contemporary problem faced by European exclaves is political-economic isolation. Most exclaves have retained close administrative and economic relationships with their home state. They are provisioned by the home state, are part of its customs territory, and share its currency. Also, they partake in diverse income-producing activities that are sometimes different from the host state. In this way exclaves have overcome the problems of isolation, and they have managed to hold off overtures of annexation by the host state.

The author concludes the book by indicating that the modern European exclave is basically a product of individual circumstances. "They have managed to survive through the acquiescence of the home and host states and of the nationalistic sentiments of the exclaves themselves."

In contrast to most geopolitical texts, which simply devote a few pages to the problems of exclaves, this book represents an initial attempt to examine totally the exclave phenomenon. Despite the fact that the author has basically concentrated his analyses on European exclaves and not on those located between India and Bangladesh, he has nevertheless provided the reader with a thoroughly researched piece of work. This is certainly exemplified in the thirty-four pages of bibliographical material and his intimate feeling for the topic through extensive fieldwork.

One particular flaw in the book is the sixteen pages of maps. They are of the pedestrian newspaper variety. They serve the purpose of providing the reader with the most simplistic visual representation of the areas under discussion. I suspect that most readers would expect more detail in the maps.

In conclusion, this concise volume provides an excellent historical examination of the exclave phenomenon, and it will be of value to those academics who have an interest in international relations.

PAUL M. KOROSCIL
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DAVID L. SCHALK. *The Spectrum of Political Engagement: Mounier, Benda, Nizan, Brasillach, Sartre.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 187. $13.50.

This short book does not advance our understanding a great deal. An introductory chapter makes rather heavy weather over the exact meaning and etiology of "engagement." David L. Schalk considers Mounier and Sartre, along with Nizan, the chief creators of this concept, but, despite the title, he discusses only Benda, Nizan, and Brasillach at any length. It is odd that he should think (at least at one point) that Benda is not well known; he does effectively point out how wildly misunderstood *La trahison des clercs* has been—Senator Eugene McCarthy, among others, getting it exactly backwards. But then Benda himself contributed no little amount to the confusion in subsequent books and actions. Like

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Benda, the intellectuals tended to waver between impassioned commitment and horrified withdrawal from the real world, but Schalk says little in explanation of this schizophrenia. The tone tends to be pedantic, with few sparks of the brilliance needed to enliven such a subject.

Although readers will be grateful for Schalk's thorough documentation, there are some strange gaps. It is singular that in the footnote-laden introductory discussion he entirely ignores the passionate commitment of the intellectuals to war in 1914, surely the most notable example in this century of a virtually unanimous plunge into political waters and a key to much of what followed, including Benda's temporary revulsion from all involvement in temporal causes. Schalk seems to think that Charles A. Beard said the last word on the problem of historical objectivity, whereas, in fact, "That Noble Dream" has become a byword for a confused statement of the case. He tells us that Nizan was the first person to think that intelligence could be misused.

Such naiveté mars an industrious piece of scholarship that considers important questions. Frank Field's recent *Three French Writers and the Great War* (1975) is less scholarly but more interesting. Students can do better with W. D. Redfern's *Nizan*, Robert J. Niess's *Benda*, and William R. Tucker's recent *The Fascist Ego*, on Brasillach, works on which Schalk draws a great deal. For the full spectrum we must await a more searching study.

ROLAND STROMBERG
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JAMES BARROS. *Office Without Power: Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond, 1919–1933.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 423. $41.00.

James Barros, author of several monographs on the League of Nations, is well qualified to portray the role of the League's first secretary-general, Sir Eric Drummond. Relying largely on British sources to complement surviving League of Nations archives (Drummond's League papers were destroyed) and building on secondary literature published up to 1975, Barros begins with the narrow definition put on the office of secretary-general at the Paris Peace Conference, Drummond's selection, and his initial attitudes and approach. After the defection of the United States and in light of the skeptical attitude of Britain and France, Drummond had few illusions about either the powers of the League or the role his own office could play. Although the specific, limited tasks assigned the League in the peace treaties were handled competently, as were several disputes between minor powers, the League could but play a limited and often peripheral role in the larger questions of peace and security affecting the Great Powers. Drummond accepted this and, like the British government, privately viewed the security articles of the League Covenant as largely inoperant and even expendable if this would facilitate the evolution of the League into a universal and effective concert of the powers.

In chapters dealing with the German question, Latin America, Italy and the status quo, and the Manchurian crisis, Barros demonstrates how Drummond's conception of his office evolved and how, increasingly, he mobilized the limited but subtle and significant influence available to him. While League enthusiasts might sometimes decry Drummond's cautious conduct of his office in light of violations of the covenant, Barros explains and defends the secretary-general's discretion and realism. What Drummond could do and what he did masterfully was to work assiduously, quietly, behind the scenes, suggesting possible solutions, sustaining lines of diplomatic communication, while maintaining the trust of all parties by his tact and discretion.

Barros, rightly as a political scientist, is most valuable in his use of Drummond's record to illustrate the possibilities and limitations of the secretary-general's office in dealing with international disputes. For Barros, Drummond laid down definitively the parameters and procedures of the office, from which his successors have departed only to their own danger or discredit. Barros does not endorse the criticisms of such previous analysts as Ranshofen-Wertheimer or Rovine that Drummond was too timid and unimaginative in using his office to publicize, assert, and defend the ideals of the League against recalcitrants. The later "Hammarskjöld model" is rejected by the author as an aberration, not capable of being sustained.

Barros is concerned also to dispel what he calls "the myth of the impartial, non-political international civil service" (p. 60), a myth perpetrated by well-meaning but misinformed internationalists. Illustrating the political considerations governing Drummond's appointments to higher secretariat positions and the increasing politicization of the secretariat, Barros argues convincingly that the analogy drawn between the secretariat and the Weberian model of national bureaucracies like Britain's is illusory, as Drummond himself fully realized and admitted privately.

Barros suggests the difficulty Drummond had in projecting an effective defense of his role, given its quiet, subtle, behind-the-scenes, even tedious quality. One might add that this same difficulty carries over when it comes to portraying and defending much of Drummond's role historically. Nevertheless, to students of international organization, Barros's study will likely remain unchallenged as

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the exhaustive treatment of Drummond's role as first incumbent of "the most impossible job in the world."

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BRADLEY F. SMITH and ELENA AGAROSSI. *Operation Sunrise: The Secret Surrender.* New York: Basic Books. 1979. Pp. 234. $11.95.

From its inception, the Italian theater during World War II was a backwater, an eddy created by the accident of an Allied victory in North Africa before a major cross-Channel invasion of Western Europe could be launched. Even though Italy was a legitimate third front, scholars have examined the Italian campaign more for its impact on other areas than for itself, and the popular historians of World War II have ignored it almost completely. With the exception of a few remarks about the "soft underbelly" concept, pushed by Churchill for both strategic and political motives, and a ritual reference to the exclusion of the Soviet Union from the Allied occupation government in liberated Italy, the politics and fighting in that country have been largely forgotten. This study of *Operation Sunrise,* the codename for surrender negotiations in 1945 between the Allies and the commanders of German forces in Italy, helps, in a small way, to remind us that a theater of operations that commanded so much in the way of men and matériel ought to command a good deal more of our interest.

The story is not new; we have known of those abortive negotiations through the self-praising memoir of then OSS agent Allen Dulles and through the brief but bitter exchange of recriminations between Soviet and Allied leaders, with each accusing the other of bad faith and lack of trust, created by the talks. What the authors do contribute is context, detail, and insights into policy making. Most of all, they illustrate the dangers of intelligence agents, Allen Dulles in this case, evaluating the intelligence they collect.

There are some problems. The background material on politics and strategy lacks breadth and depth. It may be accurate to portray Roosevelt as fully in charge, but to claim that his leadership virtually eliminated long-range political planning flies in the face of the evidence. Nor can I be comfortable with the argument, repeated all too often, that the president based wartime strategy strictly on military considerations. Franklin Roosevelt never put all his money on a single horse. Nor is it accurate to downplay Churchill's fixation on an Allied attack through the Ljubljana Gap (called the Lublin Gap on p. 34) in order to argue that Sunrise did not relate primarily to postwar relations with the USSR.

What the authors demonstrate is that Sunrise was, from the very beginning, fool's gold. Allied military commanders in Italy, bitter and frustrated, saw a German surrender as the victory that had eluded them. Political leaders, distracted by other events, hoped for anything that would shorten the war. Churchill, rebuffed by the Americans on his plan to attack from Italy toward Prague, hoped that Sunrise might reopen that strategic debate. OSS operatives saw Sunrise as the kind of flashy success that had escaped them throughout the war. But the plan was none of those things. SS Commander Karl Wolff, the major German figure in the episode, could never deliver what he so broadly hinted at, for the German Army commanders in the field refused to violate their oaths and surrender without orders. All Sunrise accomplished was to raise Soviet suspicions that the Allies would not impose unconditional surrender on Germany, set off an acrimonious if minor Allied-Soviet spat, and give Allen Dulles an undeserved reputation as a master spy. That reputation, which helped make Dulles a major Cold-War combatant, may have been the real significance of Operation Sunrise.

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ALISON HOPPEN. *The Fortification of Malta by the Order of St. John, 1530–1798.* Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1979. Pp. xii, 221. $15.00.

Two events constitute the turning point from feudal to modern warfare and the end of an age of fortification. Both the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the French invasion of Italy in 1492 saw the extensive use of gunpowder artillery battering down medieval curtain walls and round towers and compelling a revolution both in offensive and defensive military engineering. In place of the ancient walls and towers came fortifications sunk into the ground; the walls were replaced by low, sloped earth ramparts, often faced with stone, and the towers replaced gun platforms—bastions—to mount artillery for defensive fire. At first, the new fortifications were used to augment existing defenses, but, by the mid-fifteenth century, specially designed artillery fortifications, almost impregnable to direct assault, appeared, forcing the attacker to resort to long and complicated sieges. Finally, although extensive fortifications always were expensive, the new type, elaborated and made even stronger, soon became so costly that only very wealthy states could afford them.

Alison Hoppen's interesting and valuable monograph deals with the gunpowder fortifications built

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by the military Order of the Knights of St. John on Malta between 1530 and 1798. After being driven out of Rhodes by the Turks in 1522, the order established its new base on this island and rapidly began to improve fortifications. In 1565 they withstood a four-month siege against enormous odds, and thereafter the order continually added to the defenses, incorporating the newest refinements of military engineering. These works, protecting the main ports, minor harbors, and landing beaches, were perhaps the most concentrated system created in early modern Europe. In the end, however, they availed little against a new enemy, the forces of the French Revolution. As the author points out, the island was not lost by "mistaken strategy or because of a failure to maintain the fortifications adequately" (p. 167). To be sure, maintaining such extensive works was increasingly beyond the dwindling financial resources of the order, but just as important, the author concludes, was the growing discontent of the Maltese and the social and moral decay of the knights, the failure of nerve and the doubt about its mission that beset the leadership of the order.

This then is more than a technical study of fortifications and siege craft. The work places the Order of St. John, the position of Malta, and the policies and strategies pursued in a wider Mediterranean framework. There is much in this monograph that illuminates the work of the military architect and engineer, much about the problems of constructing and financing elaborate fortifications, and much about the affairs of the famed Order of St. John. The sources used are broad. Besides the Archives of the Order of Malta, they include the Vatican archives as well as public and family repositories in Italy and England. Printed original and secondary works are used judiciously, and the book is provided with some excellent illustrations and figures. A useful glossary and an appendix on currency and measurements, a good index, and a fine bibliography complete this valuable study. Although, of course, the subject of this study was a small and in many ways unique state, this book will be of considerable interest to specialist readers not only in military architecture but also to those interested in warfare in early modern Europe.

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TAGE KAARSTED. *Great Britain and Denmark, 1914–1920.* Translated by ALISON BORCH-JOHANSEN. (Odense University Studies of History and Social Sciences, number 61.) Odense: Odense University Press. 1979. Pp. 244. 80 KR.

Tage Kaarsted's study is not intended to be a comprehensive history of British-Danish relations during World War I and the immediate postwar period. The author has restricted his coverage to certain specific topics that he hopes might encourage further research by historians and political scientists.

Within the limits that he has established, Kaarsted succeeds quite well. He examines his topics primarily from the British perspective, with his major source being the Foreign Office archives. Such an approach is understandable, since the major purpose of his research "is to elucidate the cause of Great Britain's attitude towards Denmark, particularly as regards policy and strategy; the possible differences of opinion as to Denmark in British government circles; who were the authors of British policy, of what it consisted, and who implemented it." In covering his subject, the author uses a topical rather than a chronological approach. Considering the complexity of his task, the method is quite warranted, although at times it does give the book a disjointed quality. The most significant topics include the decision makers who determined British policy toward Denmark; the British view of Denmark; Denmark's position in British war policy; the peace initiatives carried out by H. N. Andersen, Christian X's close personal adviser; trade relationships; the position of Denmark's overseas possessions; British espionage and intelligence gathering activity; the British role in bringing about a solution to the North Slesvig question; and British influence on Danish foreign policy in the immediate postwar period.

Kaarsted is to be commended for not overemphasizing the importance of his subject. For the British, Denmark was of peripheral interest, which was understandable since their attention was largely riveted on the battlefields during the war and on the peace conference and the "Bolshevik menace" in the postwar period. Nevertheless, the result of Kaarsted's research will be of interest to scholars dealing with such topics as the mining of the Baltic in 1914, Churchill's and Fisher's Baltic plans, and British policy toward Bolshevik Russia. The book, despite its restricted scope, also serves as a source for studies dealing with Scandinavia's position during World War I and can be fruitfully employed as an adjunct to Olav Riste's and Steven Koblik's studies on Norway and Sweden respectively. Considering the importance that both sides attached to the subject, more space should perhaps have been given to the very difficult trade and shipping negotiations conducted between Denmark and Great Britain during the war.

The book is a translation, with some added material, of the 1974 Danish edition (2nd ed., 1975). It is unfortunate that the publisher did not provide greater editorial assistance, in particular since the book abounds with typographical errors. The trans-

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lation is at times rather awkward. Considering the book's paperbound format, the numerous illustrations are of a very high quality.

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V. V. ROGINSKII. *Shvetsiia i Rossiia: Soiuz 1812 goda* [Sweden and Russia: The Union of 1812]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1978. Pp. 172. 1 r.

The subject of this book is limited to just what the title says. This is diplomatic history of an old-fashioned kind, narrowly conceived. The introductory material on the background of Russo-Swedish relations, a story primarily of conflict, is quite impressionistic. There is, for a Soviet account, surprisingly little treatment of the economic relations of the two powers. The extraordinary military events of the period are scarcely mentioned. There is no commentary on the internal situation of the two countries and the way in which it influenced diplomatic developments. In short, V. V. Roginskii has confined the scope of his subject such as to limit the significance of it.

The bulk of the literature on the subject is Swedish, and the author provides a very convenient summary of it. His documentary base is respectably wide but also select. He uses Russian published sources and the important manuscripts from the Soviet *Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossii* advantageously. He also uses a wealth of Swedish manuscript material obtained on microfilm from Stockholm. But here lies one of the misfortunes of this work and of the whole field of study. Several years ago, Sweden and the Soviet Union engaged in a major exchange of microfilmed documents of their foreign relations. The Swedes sent their best holdings, and the Soviets sent court ceremonials, protocols, and other trivia. Thus, only Soviet scholars have access to the materials of both countries. Still, the book clearly shows the importance of the Scandinavian sources and literatures to the study of Russian foreign relations.

Roginskii's neglect of British literature and sources leads to one serious mistake. He explains the refusal of the British to come forth again in 1812 with generous subsidies for Russia as fear of seeing "French hegemony in Europe replaced by Russian" (p. 115). In fact, British finances were severely strained in 1812, and Britain had found the Russians dreadfully unfaithful to its subsidies in 1800 and 1807.

Finally, the book has every appearance of being in part a by-product of the Soviet foreign ministry's campaign for detente (like another recent Soviet book on Russian foreign policy—see the review of Bolkhovitinov, *AHR*, 84[1979]: 115–16). Both the introduction and the conclusion point out that the history of hostile relations between the two countries has been overdone, that the history of good relations between them is equally as important. The theme of the book is "to show why Sweden, losing Finland as a result of the war with Russia in 1809," was three years later "the only ally of Russia" to provide it with material benefits in the struggle with Napoleon (p. 5). Sweden firmly turned away from the "revanchist course" and compensated itself for eastern losses by western gains: Norway. Is there a moral to the story? "One may certainly say that the study of the inclination of the two neighbor-nations toward rapprochement in the past helps to strengthen friendly relations at the present time" (p. 161).

HUGH RAGSDALE
University of Alabama

KEITH WRIGHTSON and DAVID LEVINE. *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700.* (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 200. $17.00.

Our knowledge of early modern English history is being transformed and enriched by studies of small villages and local peasant societies. The fullest possible sifting of all the records relating to particular communities has begun to show connections between different aspects of historical change that have hitherto only been suspected or suggested. This book is one of the best of its kind. It breaks new ground in its methods and conclusions. It is rigorous and stimulating in its analysis of social interaction and social change, and it attacks questions of national as well as local importance. Keith Wrightson and David Levine do not claim to have written a "total history"; but it is difficult to think of any part of the history of Terling that they have not investigated and illuminated.

They identify three major developments in this small Essex village between 1525 and 1700. There was demographic growth: the population increased by 75 percent, largely before the 1630s. There was increasing social differentiation: the emergence of a marked division between an increasing number of laboring poor and an established economic elite. Finally, beginning at the end of the sixteenth century and reaching a climax in the 1620s, there was a vigorous attempt to impose social control through the mechanisms of the law and local administration.

To have established these trends from the meager records of one village is itself an achievement. Some of the technical difficulties can be seen in the chapter on family reconstitution and its results. But the authors have gone further, and the most valuable parts of the book are those that discuss the connections between demographic, social, economic,

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and cultural developments. In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it is argued, there was a complex crisis in Terling. Economic change created uncertainty and hostility in the relations between villagers, illustrated by such phenomena as increasing illegitimacy and increasing litigation. Social tensions did not disappear after 1620. They may even have been aggravated by social and cultural differentiation. But that differentiation enabled tensions to be limited and controlled through an agreed campaign against poverty, idleness, ungodliness, and disorder.

The argument thus relates closely to general problems of English social history during this period. In parts it is inevitably hypothetical, but much of it is given convincingly concrete support. The new ruling elite of the early seventeenth century, for example, can be identified, and its rise to economic and political power charted in detail. Only further work on other communities will tell us whether Terling's history was typical or exceptional. At present the former seems the more likely. In either case, Wrightson and Levine have provided a powerful model to which all later studies will refer.

PAUL SLACK
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G. R. QUAIFE. *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1979. Pp. 282. $19.50.

Somerset (locally pronounced Zummerzet) is one of the most varied and beautiful counties of southwest England, justly famous for its "zyder," its Cheddar cheese, and such picturesque village names as Cricket Malherbie, Queen Camel, Chew Magna, Compton Dando, or Curry Mallet. In the early seventeenth century this northern neighbor of Hardy's Dorset had a population of two hundred thousand in 480 parishes in the diocese of Bath and Wells. The population was employed in diversified, if often marginal, agriculture and in the textile or mining industries.

Peasant life in this environment was "patriarchal, parochial, public, and precarious" (p. 13)—G. R. Quaife alliterates with almost alarming alacrity. His study, based on the Quarter Sessions and Consistorial records, examines various aspects of illicit sexuality: fornication, adultery, prostitution, sexual deviancy, and the social problem and pattern of bastardy.

The primary importance of *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives* is that it tests hypotheses recently advanced by such scholars as Flandrin, Shorter, and Stone. The Somerset evidence suggests that premarital sex between engaged couples was the norm and that unplanned pregnancy usually led to marriage. The church merely solemnized a fait accompli. In a predominantly amoral society—"God does not loom large as a damper on lower-class sexual activity" (p. 245)—failure to maintain a bastard was the major sin. Female adultery and adolescent sexual release through recourse to village whores or heavy petting or masturbation were far commoner than Shorter envisaged. As a class, the clergy emerge as serious rivals to the curé of Montaillou. Quaife questions Stone's periodization of moral change and finds little evidence for the spread of puritan values. Homosexuality, bestiality, pederasty, and blood incest were rare, though male violence and exposure as an invitation to intercourse were common.

The author criticizes "the tendency of quantitative analysis to dehumanize the past" (p. 242). His well-planned book allows us, like so many inquisitive Somerset peasants, to peer through chinks and spyholes at entertaining sexual antics. We glimpse an athletic couple hopelessly entangled in the bed hangings or a practical joker in a pub: "He did very unseemly pull out the privy member of Thomas Lane, being asleep, and put it upon a child's shoe" (p. 166). We hear a vicar "overcrowded with drink"; a blacksmith who, "putting his hand upon his member said to certain women 'Come, draw near, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort' " (p. 166). The enterprising adulterers, macho gallants, lusty young wenches, cozening bawds, outrageous women, and impotent husbands of street literature and popular bawdry actually walked the village streets of Somerset.

Though Quaife aims at a general readership, his book sometimes misses the ideal balance between the particular and the general. Too often he fails to give a clear idea of the size of his samples or precise data on religious or regional variations. Nonetheless, he is to be congratulated on this scholarly, pioneering, and highly entertaining study, which significantly revises our ideas about sexuality in preindustrial society.

ROGER THOMPSON
University of East Anglia

ARTHUR B. FERGUSON. *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England.* (Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, number 2.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 443. $22.75.

For many years Arthur B. Ferguson has been investigating the political, social, and, especially, historical thought of Renaissance England, and here he presents the fruits of his readings and reflections on

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this complex subject. He casts his net widely—surely few scholars have read as extensively in the minor prose writers listed in Pollard and Redgrave—and includes religious controversialists and lawyers as well as historians and political theorists. Rejecting "the paradigm of *res gestae*" for a broader view of social and cultural process, Ferguson turns from Livian narrative to Varronian "antiquities" as a model for understanding the past; "for it was they [the antiquaries] rather than the chroniclers who paid much attention to the cultural context of their studies." For his general definition and taxonomy of "history" Ferguson takes the Baconian scheme: "history," distinguished from philosophy and poetry, distributed into civil and ecclesiastical (as well as natural) and "learning and the arts" as well as politics and religion. (In this connection he might have profitably consulted Arno Seifert's *Cognitio historica* (1976), which analyzes the historical and conceptual background of Bacon's "Historiabegriff.") Baconian, too, is Ferguson's conception of the development of English historical scholarship. He sees a general advancement from naive chronicle to a new, "politic" history to wider-ranging antiquarianism and finally, in the work of Selden and Spelman, to a "revolution in scholarship," involving "the development of antiquarianism into social history." In this Whiggish sort of intellectual history the subject is defined as "a pre-Burkean romanticism"; and progress is marked by such qualities as depth of perspective, critical views of tradition, a sense of mutability and process, and attitudes of relativism and historicism.

In particular Ferguson focuses on four areas of cultural experience. Ecclesiastical controversy, engaged in a "historiogenically fruitful interaction" with humanism, provided a critical re-evaluation of religious tradition and authority. The joining of civil and ecclesiastical history, exemplified by Camden, might better be represented by Johann Sleidanus, whose history of the Reformation, translated into English in 1560, was an enormously influential model; but Ferguson does offer a valuable and insightful discussion of the significance of adiaphora, theological nonessentials, in opening up the religious dimension of human history. Second, the common law tradition activated "the historical imagination"; and in some ways, especially through the investigation and idealization of custom, its implications "lie at the very roots of modern historical thought. . . ." The last two foci of Ferguson's study are language and "civilization" itself, which approximates that "totality of recalled experience" that Ferguson, like Bacon, seems to identify with history. In all of these areas he is aware, and gives us useful reminders, of the continuing function of myth: the myths of the primitive church and ecclesiastical decadence, for example, the analogous myths of the antiquity of common law and the Parliament and of "immemorial custom," and especially the cultural myths of origins. In this last connection Ferguson contrasts the Promethean theory of civilization with the idea of the Golden Age; and his final judgment of English historical thought in the Renaissance is expressed in terms of "the two faces of historical change," corresponding to pessimism and optimism, culminating in "the Baconian vision."

From *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (1965) to this book Arthur Ferguson has moved from the *vita activa* to the *vita contemplativa* and in the process has deepened and broadened his view of Renaissance thought. He has deepened and broadened our view of the history of history as well, and certainly he has gone beyond the standard books of Fussner, Levy, and McKisack. I register three minor reservations. First is the repetitiveness and verbal self-indulgence that not only tire readers but also obstruct their view of the primary texts. I also have suspicions about the effort to make major conceptualizers out of (in some cases) minor scriveners or pedants; the relation between conventional verbal behavior, popular prejudice, or conditioned commonplace may not be, in any case, directly translatable into "perceptions of the social and cultural past." Finally, though Ferguson is theoretically very aware of the problem of English insularity, it does seem to me that his discussion suffers at points from this scholarly affliction; in shifting from the Livian to the Varronian model, one should take leave of national as well as conceptual confinements. These observations, however, may well represent the if-I-were-doing-it approach to criticism, and they in no way detract from a study that is as valuable as it is magisterial. In his own way Ferguson has contributed further to the unbinding of Clio.

DONALD R. KELLEY
University of Rochester

ARNOLD PRITCHARD. *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 243. $20.00.

Since the time of Elizabeth, evaluation of the position of Catholics in England, and consequently of their treatment at the hands of the government, has turned on the question of their loyalty to the crown. The broad outline of the answer—that most Elizabethan Catholics sincerely believed that their religion need not interfere with their loyalty as subjects but that a body of contrary opinion did exist in their ranks—has been known for almost four hundred years. In that period the subject of the Elizabethan Catholics has been cultivated with consid-

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erable intensity, so that it might seem proper to raise the question whether yet another new book on the subject is really necessary.

Arnold Pritchard's work is not a systematic investigation of the behavior of Elizabethan Catholics—how many were involved in what plots, for example—but rather traces certain controversies that badly divided the Catholic leadership (mostly clerical) at certain times. Most of the controversy centered about the position identified with William Allen, an English priest who became a cardinal and head of the English College in Rome, and the Jesuit pamphleteer, Robert Persons. The latter in particular became an advocate not only of a stringent position whereby Catholics were not to cooperate with the crown in any way but also of rebellious acts under certain circumstances. When martyrs like Edmund Campion protested that they had no political designs, the crown could point to Persons's writings as evidence to the contrary.

Division within the Catholic ranks was therefore almost inevitable, and two of its major manifestations were the "Wisbech Stirs" and the "Roman Stirs," the former a severe conflict among priests imprisoned in Wisbech castle, the latter among students at the English College in Rome. (Especially in the former case, it is tempting to understand "stirs" as a pun, as in the modern slang term "in stir," meaning incarceration.)

Intradenominational conflict is likely to be written from one or other partisan point of view, and Pritchard's aim is to transcend these traditional categories. He points out, for example, that the Allen-Persons position was not as irrational as it has often been portrayed, since the Elizabethan government did claim the right to suppress all religious activity outside the Anglican framework, and it was not unreasonable to see the conflict as one of actual Catholic survival. The other side came to be called the Appellants, because of an appeal directed to the crown calling for toleration in exchange for certain assurances of good behavior. (To an extent the division was between Jesuits and secular priests.) Pritchard is equally anxious to acquit the Appellants of being lax Catholics (although some were), cowards, or merely naive. They were instead people who saw the realities of the English situation and hoped that the government would prove flexible.

In an interesting conclusion, Pritchard argues that sixteenth-century religious ideologies were not inherently "radical" or "conservative" but became so in response to circumstances. The Appellants, for example, were "forward-looking" in their emphasis on tolerance and cooperation with rulers of a different faith from their own. But that emphasis stemmed from a conservative desire to preserve the traditional structures of English society, which they feared Allen-Persons militancy would disrupt.

This book rests on the discovery of no new evidence, and it focuses on a rather narrow topic. Yet by a careful rereading of familiar documents it manages to raise the importance of its subject above the level of narrow, specialized interest.

JAMES HITCHCOCK
St. Louis University

W. J. JONES. *The Foundations of English Bankruptcy: Statutes and Commissions in the Early Modern Period.* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 69, part 3.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1979. Pp. 63. $8.00.

In the period covered by this lucidly written monograph, that is, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the later seventeenth, many men became insolvent but few were bankrupts. The annual average may not have exceeded ten per year in the decades on either side of 1600 and was still below fifty in the early 1650s. Few persons indeed *could* become bankrupt in a technical sense, for the statutes that dealt with the issue (enacted in 1543, 1571, 1607, and 1624) defined very narrowly both the categories of people liable to bankruptcy and the circumstances in which their creditors might apply for establishment of a bankruptcy commission. Only those who made their living by buying and selling were at risk, so that the majority of victims were craftsmen, shopkeepers, and middlemen, though substantial merchants sometimes became embroiled. Landowners, commercial farmers, and professional men could not become bankrupt, although they could of course be pursued by their creditors in other ways and confined to prison for debt.

Prison was often used as a place of refuge from creditors, and imprisonment, along with leaving the realm and keeping close within their houses, were among the specified actions that enabled the creditors of those to whom the statutes applied to sue for a commission of bankruptcy. The purpose of this was to ensure that one creditor did not steal a march on the others, by providing a mechanism whereby all the debtor's assets would be shared between them in proportion to the amount owed to each. Bankruptcy in this period was in no way designed to relieve the debtor, and when the commissioners had finished with him, there was nothing to stop the creditors from taking normal legal proceedings for the recovery of what was still owed to them, in the hope that the debtor's family might pay to release him from jail or merely in pursuit of revenge. Not until the reign of Queen Anne was the concept of a discharge from bankruptcy introduced.

W. J. Jones is to be congratulated on this carefully researched study, which is a fruitful bridging of the divide between legal and economic history.

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There is much in it to interest the student of the Elizabethan and Jacobean judicature, and it is essential reading for anyone seriously interested in the business life of the period. The author makes some interesting comments on the background to the enactment of the relevant statutes, and he notes the insensitivity of a parliament of landowners when it came to the passing of legislation intended to regulate the affairs of individual members of the business community.

CHRISTOPHER CLAY
University of Bristol

J. R. JONES, editor. *The Restored Monarchy, 1660–1688.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1979. Pp. viii, 232. $15.75.

The notion of publishing a collection of historical essays by several hands on different aspects of a single period of a nation's history is obvious but worth trying all the same. The present gathering deals with the Restoration in England. The editor, J. R. Jones, has contributed an introduction and a study of politics and parliament; John Miller has "done" the monarchy; Jennifer Carter, the law, courts, and the constitution; Howard Tomlinson, financial and administrative developments; J. L. Price, relations with "Europe"; Gordon Jackson, trade and shipping; R. A. Beddard, the Anglican Church; and Michael Hunter, "The Debate over Science."

In general, the result is disappointing. Most of the essays are rather shallow—particularly that of Price, which mentions neither the marriage of William and Mary (part of Charles II's rapprochement with the Dutch) in 1677 nor Charles's effort to construct a system of alliances against aggression, that is, against France, in 1680–81. Price also seems to be a "Whig historian" when he blames Charles and James II for the bad effects of their foreign policy but will not allow them credit for economic reasoning in forming it. James, at least, did have economic ideas.

The editor must take the blame for the inconsistency between his own statement—"As Danby was to discover in 1679, no minister who ran into serious difficulties could expect Charles to try to protect him" (p. 20)—and Miller's—"Addresses to remove ministers were ignored, impeachments were thwarted in the Lords or by Charles's dismissing Parliament. Only Danby was dismissed as a direct result of an impeachment, and even then Charles ensured that the former Lord Treasurer was not brought to trial" (p. 42). Again, Miller says that justices of the peace enforced intolerant laws on religion "only when they thought it really necessary" (p. 44); Beddard that Charles made them obey and persecute Dissenters in his last years (p. 174).

But authors have their own responsibilities. Whenever Tomlinson comes near my special interests and knowledge, he is unreliable. Not the Privy Council but a Protestant body of peers and a few Privy Councillors preserved the peace in the capital when James II first fled. What was disastrous about James's fleet was not its "mobilisation" (p. 116) but its placement to receive the Dutch fleet and convoy. One wonders what another reviewer would find to object to.

Beddard's essay is one of the two best in the book, but it stops short of James's reign, when Anglican loyalty met its great test; Hunter treats only controversy, as his title implies; Miller had already dealt with his subject in a published book. It is a pleasure and relief to record satisfaction with Carter's essay. These remarks may seem too dismissive: the need for brevity presses me, as it no doubt pressed the authors. The reader is the final judge.

My last criticism is directed to the publisher. The index is set in such small type as to be almost unusable.

GEORGE HILTON JONES
Eastern Illinois University

VICTOR G. WEXLER. *David Hume and the* History of England. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 131.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1979. Pp. 114. $8.00.

In this study, Victor G. Wexler adds interesting elements to two fairly familiar ideas: that Hume's historical labors were inspired by a desire for the literary fame his philosophical works had not obtained for him and also by his interest in combating the Whig theory of the antiquity of English liberty. He suggests that the much-admired serenity of Hume's later years probably owed much to the success of the *History*, which gives a deeper significance to Hume's avowed literary ambition than many scholars would concede. He also notes persuasively that *le bon David* was temperamentally contentious and needed an adversary. Although he continued his *History* backward from the seventeenth century in part because of a need for activity, his interest at each stage was really kindled only when he saw opportunities to attack the Whig theory, first, by showing the absolutism of the Tudors and then, in volumes written later, the heights to which monarchical power could rise even in the Middle Ages.

Wexler's work is more successful in its primary aim of intellectual biography than in its secondary one of rehabilitating Hume's reputation as a historian. Part of the reason for this is that Wexler's comments on Hume as a researcher produce a very mixed impression. Denying that Hume was "lazy," Wexler elsewhere writes that he was "impatient, and unwilling to ask very much more of himself

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than of his readers" (p. 100). Wexler's claims for the merits of Hume's *History* are better supported by his analysis of the interest in the critique of the Whigs and by a sound, if brief, defense of the consistency of Hume's political thinking within the *History*, especially on revolution, on the one hand, and between the *History* and the political essays on the other. One may wonder whether his well-taken points on these subjects are sufficient to justify very high claims for Hume as a historical thinker. Wexler succeeds in defending Hume against several unjust charges but does not dispel a general impression of superficiality of analysis on many subjects produced by Hume's work on this reader and many others. As both Wexler and Laurence L. Bongie (*David Hume: Prophet of the Counter-revolution* [1965]) have shown, however, Hume's *History* was once profoundly influential. This fact, together with Hume's fame as a philosopher, make this solid account of its creation and the motivation behind it most welcome.

JOHN ANDREW BERNSTEIN
University of Delaware

ANNE DIGBY. *Pauper Palaces.* (Studies in Economic History.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1978. Pp. x, 266. $17.50.

"I knew nothing of the Poor Law," wrote George Lansbury of his election to the board of poor law guardians in Poplar in 1892, "I had read '*Oliver Twist.*'" For many people, this still remains the case. Mention of the nineteenth-century poor law conjures up visions of grim, prisonlike workhouses and half-starved inmates fed on watery gruel by a plump, cruel workhouse master. Anne Digby, as the title of her book implies, supplies a powerful, carefully researched corrective to this impression. Not that she argues a simplistic case for the poor law as a humane system of welfare, thus casting a vote for the "optimist" party in the old historical debate about the standard of living in nineteenth-century Britain. Thankfully, our new generation of social historians seems to have grown tired of this stale old controversy. Rather, Digby shows how the New Poor Law of 1834 was, in the context of rural Norfolk, a class measure used by farmer guardians against the interests of their low-paid employees. Nevertheless, she makes the case for a more rounded view of the poor relief system, setting it both within the context of the social and economic life of Norfolk and also within the framework of contemporary ideas on the relief of the poor. She eschews an "emotive but blind sympathy" with the pauper and facile contrasts between the poor law and modern concepts of social welfare.

Nineteenth-century Norfolk was an area in economic decline. Its agriculture was no longer the wonder of Europe as it had been in the eighteenth century, and its textile industry, based on Norwich, was unable to compete with the thrusting mills of the West Riding. One tradition that survived from the palmier days of the eighteenth century was that of the large institution for the relief of the poor, the house of industry. Thus the idea of the workhouse in the New Poor Law of 1834 was seen not as an innovation but as a revival of past custom by local administrators. The new workhouses that were built in the mid-nineteenth century were often costly buildings, tastefully designed and well appointed. As the book's illustrations show, they were far from the gloomy barracklike erections of the Dickensian image. Those relieved within them, a minority of those on relief, enjoyed a higher standard of material comfort than they could have attained outside the workhouse. It was the monotony of life, the separation of family members, and, above all, the sense of shame associated with the workhouse, not its material deprivations, that created fear and hatred of it.

The majority of those who applied for poor relief experienced not the workhouse but the meager dole of outdoor relief, given grudgingly by a board of guardians ever conscious of the stringencies that an inadequate rating system imposed upon them. In the case of able-bodied men on outdoor relief, the poor law system was used by farmers as a means of regulating the supply of labor for their farms. In this respect, they developed a new variant of the old labor rate or roundsman system that had prevailed before 1834.

In discussing these practices and many others, the author sets the poor law within the wider social and economic aspects of the locality. Indeed, she maintains an excellent balance, thoroughly informed as to local peculiarities, yet ever keeping them in their relation to national developments and drawing contrasts with other regions. This is local history as it should be written.

Another difficulty with poor law studies is that they can either become dry accounts of bureaucratic development shorn of human interest, or, at the other extreme, a mere recital of horrific case histories of the Andover workhouse variety. This book avoids both pitfalls. Complex, much ignored, but crucially important aspects of the poor law system like settlement and rating are discussed fully and clearly. At the same time, case histories are used to illuminate the discussion of administrative processes and to provide a human dimension.

Pauper Palaces is an important contribution to the writing of English social history. It deserves a place on the shelves with that other classic of East Anglian poor law history, E. M. Hampson's *Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire, 1597–1834* (1934).

MICHAEL E. ROSE
University of Manchester

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ÉVA H. HARASZTI. *Chartism.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1978. Pp. 276.

There is still no adequate narrative history of Chartism. This new volume, the result of careful reading and intelligent analysis, has few claims to originality. It assembles, largely from secondary sources, including recent monographs, an account that does not differ significantly from earlier studies made decades ago in quite different circumstances by scholars starting from different presuppositions. The least well-known elements in the book are reserved for the appendixes—a brief anthology of comments on Chartism and England from Hungarian newspapers and periodicals and a number of statements about Hungary made by English Chartists.

Although Éva H. Haraszti claims that Chartism is being studied "from a detached European standpoint," no attempt is made to consider European reactions outside Hungary and France. Two features of recent British work on Chartism are not fully appreciated: the attempt to revise the national story in the light of detailed work on particular places examined comparatively and the effort to get at history from below by exploring Chartist "culture" and people, often without names, who contributed to it. The author seems, therefore, to be isolated from contemporary British scholarship. At the same time, given the lack of access to key sources and some difficulties of translation, the narrative account as presented is honest and fairly judged.

Chapter 1 is weaker on Birmingham and on the influence on politics of economic and social structure than might have been expected from a Marxist historian, and chapter 2 fails to do full justice either to Peel or to Disraeli, whose conservatism was certainly not "akin" to each other's (p. 143). A readable chapter 3, which deals with events between 1840 and 1848, is almost entirely derivative, and far more has been written on this period than the bibliography notes. The end of the chapter is lame: indeed, it is misleading in the light of new evidence about the London trades, the Irish connection, the role of spies, and the attitude of government.

Some bold generalization does not make up for the deficiencies. It may be the case, as Lenin put it, that Chartism, "the revolutionary working-class movement preparatory to a nascent new society," was "a movement which sprang up a little too early but inevitably and which gave rise to the Marxist theory . . . the last word before Marxism," but such a verdict isolates from the Chartist experience only a limited number of elements within it. Likewise, given the role of religion, it is difficult to accept without qualification Engel's view that "class antagonisms" by themselves provide "the basis of the formation of political parties and of party struggles, and thus of all political history" (quoted on p. 206). What Haraszti does show is that Chartism is of universal interest, that the themes in its history concern historians of all parts of the world and not just historians of Britain, and that Chartism needs to be considered within the context of world history and not merely accumulated British local histories.

ASA BRIGGS
Worcester College, Oxford

PATRICK CONNER. *Savage Ruskin.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 189. $14.95.

This poorly conceived study of minor elements in Ruskin's art and architectural criticism has a few useful insights for the devoted Ruskinian but little to offer those with a more general interest in Victorian culture and society. According to Patrick Conner, who has not done his homework very well, his book "is the first to investigate Britain's most influential art critic as a *critic*—not as a theorist, but as a judge of paintings, architecture and society" (p. xi). In fact, *Savage Ruskin*, three-quarters of which is devoted to anecdotal biography, has little to say about Ruskin as critic or painting or society; when it does discuss Ruskin's criticism, it concentrates upon what Conner terms "the remarkable method which he evolved (initially inspired by other writers) for interpreting pictures and buildings themselves as 'personalities', with a whole range of human attributes, which would then be praised or denounced almost as if they were actually people" (pp. xii–xiii). Conner makes an interesting though hardly major point here, but he fails to test it sufficiently. One wonders why, for example, he has not examined the anthropomorphic elements in Ruskin's satiric imagery, social criticism, and writings on myth. Oddly enough, although the author seems unaware of the fact, his valuable discussions of traditional and contemporary conceptions of expression, anthropomorphism, and the like—which constitute the high point of this study—concern themselves almost entirely with art *theory*. Furthermore, Conner, who has considerable difficulty in working with the details of Ruskin's text, seems unaware of recent discussions of Ruskin's critical procedure. Richard L. Stein, for example, valuably explains in *The Ritual of Interpretation* (1975) how the critic relies upon fictionalized "fables of perception," and other recent work has examined how Ruskin employed word painting to manipulate political attitudes and the religious associations of a Protestant audience.

Conner's notion that anthropomorphism explains *all* of Ruskin cannot carry an entire full-length discussion of his subject, so he devotes approximately three-quarters of his slim volume to relating anecdotal biography derived from the usual secondary

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sources. Claiming that Ruskin's biography can explain his critical judgments, Conner consistently fails to demonstrate such connections—even when earlier authors, such as John Rosenberg, have already done so successfully—and, consequently, the book wanders for long passages without any obvious direction or point. Another oddity is that despite the announcement that he will discuss Ruskin as critic of society, and despite his adoption of a biographical organization, Conner then devotes 90 percent of his volume to the first decade or so of Ruskin's career.

Nonetheless, although Conner has considerable difficulty in interpreting Ruskin's writings, he often provides concise, useful summaries of backgrounds in art and architectural theory. His brief discussions of A. F. Rio (a particularly crucial figure to the Victorians), the backgrounds to *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, and theories of expression are useful and of interest. Unfortunately, his concluding chapters on Ruskin's later life, relation to the Pre-Raphaelites, and writings on political economics demonstrate that he is embarrassingly uninformed about these subjects and recent scholarly investigations of them.

GEORGE P. LANDOW
Brown University

STANLEY PIERSON. *British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 403. $17.50.

In this book Stanley Pierson has extended the scope of the argument and survey that he presented in his earlier work, *Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism: the Struggle for a New Consciousness* (1973). The first two parts, chapters 1 to 3, of the present volume traverse briefly much of the same ground, from the emergence of modern British socialism in the 1880s to the foundation of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900. Its second two parts, chapters 4 to 8, continue the story to the reorganization of the Labour Party at the end of the First World War. Like the earlier book, *British Socialists* is a remarkable work of synthesis: Pierson's wide range of reading and his original research in unpublished sources have enabled him to draw together into a coherent and convincing picture the results of three or four decades of study of the socialist and labor movement in England.

For purposes of discussion, British socialists are marshaled into three groups: Fabians, social democrats (Hyndmanite Marxists), and "ethical socialists" (Independent Labour Party members and the rest). The term "ethical socialism" Pierson claims as his own (p. 2), although it seems to be employed for much the same purpose as the contemporary term, "idealist socialism" (*vide* I. L. P. Annual Conference Report 1898, p. 26)—as a loose catchall to contain all those who might be regarded as the evangelicals of the socialist church. Pierson devotes more than half his book to this third group, taking the view that ethical socialism was the form of socialism that had the strongest appeal in Britain and that the ethical socialists had the greatest influence in establishing the Labour Party.

The history of the development of the socialist thought (or ideology) of these three groups is unfolded within the overarching theme of the "journey from fantasy to politics"—that is to say, the steps they took to bring their visions down to the earthy realm of party tactics and practical policies. At every stage of the journey these efforts led to differing responses, disagreements, or the parting of ways, and Pierson illustrates the important divergences with sharply perceived vignettes of the leading characters and their ideas at each critical juncture.

Journey's end brings political success and ideological defeat: that is the paradoxical moral of the story. The very success of the socialists in strengthening the trade unions, building up the Labour Party, and stimulating nonsocialist parties to introduce political and social reforms resulted in "the working classes . . . being integrated into a capitalistic system" (p. 346). After the achievement of a certain measure of reform and social welfare, the more radical demands of socialism, such as economic equality, social ownership, systematic planning, and workers' control, can be brushed aside more readily as impractical or unnecessary. But Pierson sees this result as deriving from a contradiction lying at the heart of socialism from the outset—the tension between visions of a new society, which were supplied by "alienated" middle or lower middle class intellectuals, and the specific grievances of the working classes and trade unionists. The success of socialism as a movement depended on the maintenance of a cooperative balance between these two elements; their imbalance at any time throughout the history of the movement promoted tendencies to sectarianism and private fantasy on one side and to a relapse to mere "laborism" on the other; their sundering (which came at different times for the three socialist groups) spelt decline for the movement.

The story is well told, neatly organized, and excellently referenced. It is "history of socialist thought" in G. D. H. Cole's manner, but with all the latest refinements.

A. M. MCBRIAR
Monash University

STEFAN COLLINI. *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880–1914.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 281. $24.95.

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Historians agree that British liberalism changed significantly in the two decades before the First World War. In recent years they have often studied the development of this "new liberalism," as it was called at the time, in relation to party politics or to the general evolution of social policy, in part to respond to the question first posed and stylishly, if misleadingly, answered by George Dangerfield in *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (1935). The first full examination of the new liberalism as a problem in intellectual history, Stefan Collini's admirable *Liberalism and Sociology* adds an important dimension to this debate.

The core of *Liberalism and Sociology* is an examination of the thought of L. T. Hobhouse, the leading theorist and publicist of the new liberalism. Collini presents the most careful and extensive examination to date of Hobhouse's place in the liberal political tradition, particularly his attempt to reconcile increased state intervention with an older liberal tradition. That Hobhouse made such an attempt is not news. But Collini's discussion is particularly illuminating because it is related to an analysis of the "political argument" of the times, to the dominant Victorian concerns with character, individual development, and morality. In this way Collini explains not only Hobhouse's specific debts to previous thinkers, particularly T. H. Green, but also the structure of his argument, the questions it sought to answer, and the limitations imposed on him by the intellectual context in which he worked.

As part of this attempt to relate Hobhouse's specific political concerns to the dominant intellectual questions of the period, Collini also examines the contemporary relationship between sociology and liberalism, two subjects, as he indicates, not usually joined together in intellectual history. A founder of academic sociology in Britain, Hobhouse sought to work out a sociological model of historical development that would validate his political goals, refuting dominant Social Darwinist beliefs in individualism and showing that history was really the story of progress toward greater social cooperation. As Collini neatly shows, sociology, for Hobhouse and others of his generation, provided a scientific linchpin enabling them, in good Victorian fashion, to join ethics and politics.

A short review cannot do justice to this fine work, a major contribution to the intellectual history of the period. Hobhouse's moralism and evolutionary positivism, as Collini indicates, no longer command attention. It is not the least of this book's virtues to show why this is so, and in so doing to hint in the last chapter, significantly called "The Strange Death of Moral England," at another answer to Dangerfield's question.

PETER WEILER
Boston College

DAVID MCLEAN. *Britain and her Buffer State: The Collapse of the Persian Empire, 1890–1914.* (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, number 14.) London: The Society. 1979. Pp. ix, 157. $19.00.

Persia was one of the world's "sick men"; it serves the author as a model for the way in which relations with weak and vulnerable nations altered traditional British diplomatic doctrine. David McLean's thesis holds that in "sick-man" diplomacy the British government violated the principles of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other nations and noninterference with private enterprise. He calls it "a revolution in the conduct of foreign policy" (p. 2).

British experience in Persia from 1890 to 1914 caused conflict within the home government over whether to preserve an independent Persia as a buffer state between Russia and British India or to divide the decaying state into spheres of influence while there was still time to keep the Russians from gaining sole dominance. British policy was directed alternately by advocates of each approach. At the Foreign Office, between 1900 and 1905, Lord Lansdowne followed a policy based on imperial needs, particularly those of India, while his successor, Sir Edward Grey, was more concerned with Britain's role in Europe. Lansdowne opposed partition since it would allow the Russians to advance nearer to the Indian frontier, but Grey negotiated just such a division in the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907. Here McLean further demolishes the myth that Lansdowne and Grey followed identical policies.

Doing what was necessary to maintain British leadership in southern Persia by using investments, loans, railway and road building, and by avoiding conflict with the Russians, Grey's policy "held the country together for just as long as proved necessary" (p. 145). That necessity ended in 1915 when Russia abandoned its claims to southern Persia. The subtitle of this book might better have been "The Survival of the Persian Empire."

McLean makes good use of Foreign Office and India Office dispatches and the private papers of many British diplomats and statesmen who participated in Persia and in foreign affairs at home. Occasionally he overstates his case. Describing Lansdowne as "an Irish Foreign Secretary" (p. 10) is misleading, but historians may well be even more surprised to see him praised as an "innovator" (p. 47). The author jumps to the conclusion that: "For the Foreign Office Persia was really a diplomatic backwater. Teheran merited only a legation not an embassy" (p. 29). He fails to take into account that there were only eight British embassies prior to the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1905, and all except Washington were in Europe. The British diplomats at Teheran are discounted with the state-

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ment that "first rate men at the legation were rare before 1914" (pp. 29–30). Yet, Charles Hardinge and Frank Lascelles, who had been first secretaries at the legation during the 1890s, and Arthur Hardinge, Mortimer Durand, and Cecil Spring-Rice, who were ministers there between 1900 and 1910, each went on to become an ambassador in Europe or America.

McLean's repeated use of the "late 1900s" when dealing with the years from 1906 to 1910 is distracting (pp. 77, 88, 91, 128, 144). Yet, in spite of its shortcomings, this specialized book in a series for specialists will be profitable reading for economic and business historians as well as those with diplomatic and imperial interests.

LYLE A. MCGEOCH
Ohio University

B. J. MCCORMICK. *Industrial Relations in the Coal Industry.* Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1979. Pp. xi, 263. $25.00.

B. J. McCormick has written a useful and informative, if often rather difficult, book on the recent history of the British coal miners. McCormick is very knowledgeable about this critical group of workers and has a great deal of sympathy with them as well. Unfortunately, the book is, methodologically, an uneasy compromise between history and labor economics, and nothing could better express the incompatibility of these two research traditions than the problems of style and substance that mar this study.

McCormick begins with a modest chapter on "The Coal Industry, 1550–1947," where in 46 pages he purports to fill us in on the background of the industry and its system of industrial relations. On its own terms, the discussion is not unreasonable, but it leaves out entirely any reference to the evolution of mining communities or the culture and attitudes of miners themselves. In this historical introduction, he therefore ignores the long-standing debate about the uniqueness of miners' social lives and their high propensity to strike. Indeed, this crucial issue is not raised until two-thirds of the way through the book. Instead, McCormick chooses to dispute, here and throughout the rest of the book, with various dead or deadly dull economists who have said this or that little thing about the mining industry. The result is that the reader is left totally adrift: familiar social and historical questions are absent, while obscure economic disputes, for example, on the economic reasons for the truck system or the optimality of absenteeism, are fought out to no apparent resolution and often without benefit of proper citation.

This is all very unfortunate, for Dr. McCormick has many interesting things to say. His analysis of the debates over the nature of nationalization is insightful; and his discussion of the structure of the National Union of Mineworkers is quite intelligent. More important, he presents us with detailed information about wages, hours, and conditions in the mines between 1947 and 1977 that goes a long way toward explaining the recent revival of militancy among the miners. His evidence is compelling, too, on the effects of the rundown of the industry after 1947 upon the attitudes and morale of the workers.

If one looks hard for them, there are also some recurring themes that make the book of genuine importance. First, there is the constancy of industrial struggle since nationalization—public control has not sufficiently institutionalized the power of the miners to give them a real voice in industry. Their power, where it has existed at all, has been primarily a negative one. Second, since 1947 the dominant question in the system of industrial relations in the mines does not seem to have been wages but rather control over the process of production. In fact, as McCormick tells it, most of the initiatives of management have been aimed at enhancing its power over the miners, and management has at times been willing to pay rather handsomely for it. Third, and perhaps most interesting, the facts presented in this book show clearly that the miners themselves have gradually raised their expectations and demands in the postwar period. Rates of absenteeism and sick leave, as well as demands over wages and hours, reveal an expanding sense of what the miner is due. These are important points, and they merit a better format for their exposition and analysis.

JAMES E. CRONIN
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

D. A. FARNIE. *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market, 1815–1896.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1979. Pp. vii, 399. $41.00.

This is a broad and useful history of the Lancashire cotton industry during the period of its world dominance. D. A. Farnie has provided a thoughtful synthesis of both familiar and much less accessible material. The majority of footnote references are to contemporary books, journals, and newspapers that will be unfamiliar to all but the most dedicated specialist. The result is an excellent survey of the industry's place in the economies of Lancashire, Britain, and the world and the evolution of the industry during the nineteenth century that will deepen the understanding of anyone with a desire to study the industry.

The book is divided into three parts. The first assesses the role of the cotton industry in Britain's economy and its localization in Lancashire. The

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second examines Lancashire within the international economy. The industry was always dependent on an imported raw material and early sold half or more of its production overseas. India's transformation from the leading exporter of cotton textiles to Lancashire's largest foreign market occupies pride of place. India, Japan, and China also challenged Lancashire's dominance of the industry by the end of the nineteenth century. Farnie has handled both these parts of the study in a careful and balanced manner.

The third sector of the study, which investigates the structure of the industry, is probably the most interesting, at least to an economist. Small units of production, easy entry and exit from the industry, and the presence of well-organized markets at various stages of production (cotton, yarn, unfinished cloth) provided (and in fact probably served as the inspiration for) the economist's competitive market. These are all discussed and documented, but Farnie's interests are not the narrow interests of the economist, and so his interests extend to the social implications of the industry's structure on the various Lancashire towns dependent on the industry. As he states in his preface, "the industry's most significant product may well have been neither yarn nor cloth but the factory communities of 'Cottonia.'"

There is much of interest here, but the book is also somewhat disappointing in that it is not analytical. Farnie draws conclusions, but these do not flow from a formulation of an issue and the weight of evidence. At times these conclusions in fact seem to arise in the face of evidence. A particular example is his assessment of the specialization of function among firms and locations that characterized the industry by the 1890s (pp. 318–23). Farnie concludes that the pattern was "wasteful and expensive" (p. 322). Such a conclusion requires analytical support, particularly since he has shown that the share of the supposedly more efficient, integrated firms declined from 52.5 percent of the industry's spindles, 82.6 percent of the looms, and 60.8 percent of the employees in 1850 to 29.9 percent of the spindles, 42 percent of the looms, and 38 percent of the employees in 1890 (table 19). It is hard to believe that, in such a competitive industry as Farnie has shown the Lancashire cotton to have been, this increase in the share of output from specialized firms reflected anything except a cost advantage.

There is much of interest here. The book provides detailed information on industry that would be hard to come by otherwise. The discussions of causation, however, and the conclusions that are presented at various points in the book require analysis that is not there.

C. KNICK HARLEY
University of Western Ontario

I. C. R. BYATT. *The British Electrical Industry, 1875–1914: The Economic Returns of a New Technology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 228. $22.50.

The subtitle of this book is "the economic returns of a new technology"; it might well have read economic and social to indicate what it indeed is, an interesting case study of innovation that raises doubts about some of the more popular explanations given for the present, assumed lag of innovation in the United States.

The early history of the British electrical industry demonstrates that interest rates, state regulation, industrial concentration, or research and development funding count minimally in the innovation process compared to the endeavor of entrepreneurs who recognize a technological opportunity and can promote that opportunity. Yet, the solution to the American innovation lag advocated by industrialists and some political leaders is change in the secondary factors. The historical evidence given in this book and other places shows these measures to be palliatives but not long-range solutions.

I. C. R. Byatt has much of interest to say about the structure and operation of the British electrical industry. Entrepreneurs used imitation of earlier technologies—the gas light, the horsecar, and the factory steam engine—to make a commercial niche for electric power. Yet, urbanization and suburbanization were major factors in transforming electric power from a mere substitution for existing technology to being a major innovation.

The growth of population as well as industrialization gave the United States an advantage over Britain in electric power innovation. Americans developed electrical technology faster and better than the British and then successfully transferred that technology to Britain. Americans, for example, gave the engineering impetus to the design of the London underground, largely financed the construction of the system, and supplied most of the electric power equipment.

A weakness of the book is that it does not develop a central theme but relies too much on analysis of statistical data. One theme that might have been followed more fully was the many ways that government involvement joined social influences to determine the rate and direction of technological innovation. The British tradition of restraining monopoly by either public ownership or regulatory control, we find, accounted for many differences between the American development and the British experience. Byatt, for example, believes that municipal ownership of horse tramways (streetcars) and the law that limited the period of franchise caused electrification of tramways to progress much slower in Britain than in the United States. But the rate of development was not the only effect of government involvement. Local governments made low workers'

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fares a condition for granting tramway franchises and encouraged concentration of streetcar lines rather than encouraging the lines to extend into outlying areas as they did in the United States.

This book searches widely enough, examining industrial, demographic, class, and public versus private ownership changes in order to determine underlying as well as immediate causes for technological change. Innovation is a public issue in Washington and policy analysts are prone to grasp at the immediate and apparent causes for innovation lag. Advocates of tax revision or regulatory reform claim that government interference is obstructing innovation. But Byatt with his historical analysis not only refutes the claim that government action inhibits innovation but also clearly demonstrates that the underlying social and economic forces have a more lasting and profound influence on technological innovation.

Economic analysis can deal with such immediate questions as taxes and interest rates, but the underlying, that is, historical, causes for these changes need to be understood for thorough policy analysis. What is sorely needed in Washington are historians who are willing to do the research that gives perspective to immediate questions. Some historians are now doing that kind of work and many more are needed, immediately.

HAROLD ISSADORE SHARLIN
Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress

LESLIE HANNAH. *Electricity before Nationalisation: A Study of the Development of the Electricity Supply Industry in Britain to 1948.* (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, New Series, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 467. $28.50.

This book by Leslie Hannah is the third in the new series "Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology." Written with the aid of three very competent researchers, Geoffrey Dart, Sonia Laws, and Stephanie Zarach, this volume is a model of what good business history should be. Although privy to a substantial cache of business and government records, documents, and correspondence, Hannah and his associates have resisted the temptation to write a mere catalogue of industry "pioneers" or of famous events in the history of electricity supply. Instead they have produced a well-written synthesis of the variety of factors, economic, technical, and political, that shaped the industry in its prenationalization era. This study is particularly welcome since it addresses the development of a crucial twentieth-century British power industry, a subject often neglected by historians in favor of multiple re-examinations of the steam and water power sources associated with the first Industrial Revolution in Britain.

The electricity supply industry is a classic example of the concept of economies of large-scale production and distribution, and thus small entrepreneurs did not play a progressive role in the development of the industry. Related to this is the crucial role that engineers such as Charles Merz (often referred to as the "Thomas Edison of Britain") played in the development of this industry as compared to other early twentieth-century industries dominated by financiers or marketing wizards. Nevertheless, it was not technology or economics that played the dominant role in the industry prior to nationalization but rather politics.

A constant tension existed between private and government suppliers of electricity from the industry's very inception. The Electricity Lighting Act of 1882, passed to facilitate the acquisition of right of ways for underground lines, contained a provision that mandated the purchase of any private electric company by local government authorities after twenty-one years of operation. Although later postponed for another twenty-one years, the passage of such legislation and the outcry it raised from the business community are indicators of the struggle between private and public interests that existed in the industry until nationalization. As Hannah points out, each type of organization had its advantages under certain circumstances, but rational debate or decision making was impossible, and thus a myriad of private and municipal supply companies coexisted unhappily until the 1940s.

Even before the ultimate reorganization of the industry took place, a number of political solutions to the industry's organizational problems were attempted. Unfortunately, such attempts often involved subversion of the sound advice of engineers and industry spokesmen by the parochial political interests of the moment. And despite the repeated failure of political attempts to map the course of the industry, the fact that the final solution would be a public rather than a private industry was presaged as early as 1926. The Central Electricity Board established in that year, seen by many as the first step toward eventual nationalization, was the product of a Conservative government.

While reserving judgment on the wisdom of the pervasive political influence on the development of the industry, Hannah indicates that it is understandable given the vexing questions of how to best realize obvious economies of scale and efficiently organize the production and distribution of a critical energy resource. While providing no easy answers, this volume covers an issue that is suggestive of similar problems faced today by all industrial capitalist nations. It is probably too much to hope for, but it might be very useful if, in addition to its deserved audience of historians, government policy makers

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and businessmen involved in the energy industries were to read this book.

STEWART L. LONG
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JILL EDWARDS. *The British Government and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939.* Foreword by HUGH THOMAS. London: Macmillan; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. xiii, 280. $37.50.

This is an excellent monograph written by a student of Hugh Thomas. Jill Edwards probably exhausted the research potential of the approximately three hundred files in the Foreign Office dealing with the British government's concerns about the Spanish Civil War. She has also carefully plumbed the records of both the Cabinet and the Admiralty and sampled private papers of British officials. This well-written book should largely replace as a standard reference work two less adequate works previously published on the subject.

Edwards has provided the best definition yet of those controversial terms used during the civil war, "rebel," "insurgent," and "Nationalist" (p. xiii). Although she in part reaffirms the previously held thesis that British neutrality indirectly assisted Franco toward victory (pp. 181–82, 215), she also breaks new ground by showing that the British government actually connived in the nationalist triumph, at least after July 1938 (pp. 131, 212). The chapter on British economic interests in Spain is particularly well done.

The author wisely decided to begin her story in February 1936 with the Popular Front elections and not in July with the Spanish Army coup. This further underscores that the British establishment was already predisposed against leftist Republicans. Edwards organized and wrote a chapter on each of these British groups: the Foreign Office, the Non-Intervention Committee, British corporate interests in Spain, and the navy. The two other chapters describe the control of volunteers and London's recognition of Franco. There are twenty-two statistical tables and seven valuable appendixes.

Despite many virtues, something is missing. The topical style is a mistake because it means that the overall chronological picture tends to get lost. The style that emerges is somewhat legalistic. Yet the careful reader will detect that Edwards regards left-wing Tory Anthony Eden as a hero and Conservatives Sir Samuel Hoare as well as Neville Chamberlain as villains. Even if one accepts the author's organizational scheme, she omits a chapter on Parliament. Would Eden have been able to block, slow down, and sabotage the Hoare-Chamberlain Spanish policy of indirectly assisting Franco without pressure from Labour in the House of Commons?

Because of the author's lack of emphasis on chronology, the passions, manifestations of ignorance, fears, and ambitions aroused in Britain during the civil war years about "communism," "fascism," "liberalism," "conservativism," "capital," "labor," "Catholicism," Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and even France are hidden in the book like Easter eggs scattered throughout the forest. On occasion, Edwards rightly mentions the importance of the anticommunist stance within the Tory government, but the influence of Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, is scarcely mentioned. In short, the whole is not equal to the sum of the parts.

The cause of British history will be well served in the future if Edwards continues to write legal history or archival surveys. On the other hand, there is little hint here that this judicious, scholarly author aspires in any way to become successor to A. J. P. Taylor.

ROBERT H. WHEALEY
Ohio University

ARTHUR H. WILLIAMSON. *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture.* Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1979. Pp. x, 215. $25.50.

Arthur H. Williamson has worked along lines of inquiry familiar to readers of J. G. A. Pocock, William Lamont, and William Haller, writers who have enriched our understanding of the relationships between religious, political, and constitutional ideas in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Williamson's important essay "seeks to examine the ways in which the Scottish people developed vocabularies for speaking of themselves either as Scots or as members of a larger 'British' order" (p. vii). Although this was not a new problem, the Scottish Reformation and the union of 1603 provided it with new urgency. For John Knox and for James VI, the apocalyptic visions of the Marian exiles provided the answer: union of the peoples of Britain under one reformed religion and a godly prince. But many Scottish reformers believed that this idea inevitably represented English domination; they sought instead to define a Scottish church within the context of a Scottish nation.

Williamson demonstrates that English ideas on church and state were inapplicable in Scotland. Scotland lacked a documented history of institutional continuity. Reformers who sought to compile histories of Scottish martyrdom usually drew a blank. Thus it was impossible to do for Scotland what John Foxe had done when he designated England an elect nation by integrating its history into a

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grand apocalyptic drama. Scots were by necessity present mined. "For Scottish attitudes in part derived from a self-made church, realized through a collective act of national will, which stabilized and, to some extent, even identified Scottish society" (p. 139).

The problems with Scottish history may be illustrated by George Buchanan who produced a history of a unitary Scotland and a Scottish constitution that appealed to Presbyterians. Yet he was roughly handled by sixteenth-century critics; for over a hundred years Buchanan's defenders had to resort to arguments that it was impertinent to criticize so great an intellect.

The new church, however, could adapt to the traditional organization of Scottish society. Presbyterianism was not incompatible with aristocratic power. Reformers were ambivalent about the lawlessness of the nobility, but a patriot aristocracy and inherited jurisdictions appeared to be the strongest safeguards of Scottish independence. By 1638 the Scots had adapted English ideas; the National Covenant founded the rights of the kirk in fundamental law—an idea alien to sixteenth-century Scotland.

Williamson's work is a must for historians of Jacobean Scotland. (It should be required reading for English historians as well.) I have only two quibbles: in his attempt to broaden the approach to early modern Scotland, Williamson has tended to avoid the usual partisan debates on church government. But those debates were directly related to the identity of the Scottish church and nation. Andrew Melville seems a curiously shrunken figure in Williamson's study. Second, one must lament the way in which a clear, succinct essay has been marred by notes at the back of the book.

A. M. STARKEY
Adelphi University

JUDITH COLTON. *The* Parnasse François: *Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument to Genius.* (Yale Publications in the History of Art, number 27.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1979. Pp. xx, 252. $25.00.

The *Parnasse François* was to have been a colossal monument situated in Paris or Versailles, one hundred sixty feet in circumference, sixty feet high, and decked with bronze statues of the great creative figures of the reign of Louis XIV. It was conceived in 1708 by Titon du Tillet, who had the sculptor Louis Garnier make a bronze model of the monument, completed in 1718, and who then spent over forty years trying to find a patron for the project or concocting schemes to build it himself. He was not successful; the monument was not built, and all that remains are the model and three books written by Titon as part of his effort to find the needed support.

In this carefully researched and clearly presented book, Judith Colton traces the history of the *Parnasse François* and examines its significance. She looks at its classical, Renaissance, and baroque sources, identifies the monuments that Titon would probably have known, analyzes the iconography of the *Parnassus*, and discusses the writings of Titon and his contemporaries on ancient and modern monuments. This part of the study is a valuable contribution on an art form that has received only limited scholarly attention. The book is most interesting when it examines the *Parnassus*'s intellectual underpinnings and position in the history of ideas. Colton shows that the first sculptural monuments to national genius were not the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey or the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe, dating from the 1720s to the 1740s, but Titon's *Parnassus*. Although the latter was never completed, the idea for such a monument was present, and that is what Colton examines with great skill and sensitivity.

When Titon first conceived the *Parnassus*, the dust had pretty much settled from the "Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns." In that quarrel Charles Perrault, to strengthen the case for the Moderns, wrote a 150-line poem, *Le Génie* (1687). Titon knew Perrault, included him on the *Parnassus*, and incorporated his idea of genius into the monument. He celebrated not just individual figures of genius but, as Voltaire would later, the age of Louis XIV. This celebration is seen as the beginning of the Louis XIV revival that became a force in the mid-eighteenth century when Voltaire and then later reformers in the royal government and the leaders of the Academy looked to the reign of Louis XIV as a great age and attempted to restore its grandeur. In discussing Titon's project and writings, Colton sheds light on this development, tracing an undercurrent that passed through the first half of the eighteenth century and surfaced in the second half. Through an appreciation of the past came a new national self-awareness, an appreciation of the French genius.

Although Colton remains close to the subject of her book, Titon's *Parnassus*, she sheds light on some of the more important of contemporary developments. The reader who is already aware of those developments will find the book particularly valuable.

WARREN ROBERTS
State University of New York, Albany

JEAN QUÉNIART. *Culture et société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au XVIII^e siècle.* (Publications de l'Université de Haute-Bretagne. Collection 16 × 25,

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number 10.) Paris: C. Klincksieck. 1978. Pp. 590. 95 fr.

Among the many distinguished works of *annaliste* historiography, relatively few attempt the study of *civilisations* as opposed to *économies* or *sociétés*. Cultural patterns or collective mentalities no doubt have appeared less amenable to quantification than economic change or social structure. Lately, however, the balance has begun to shift as a consequence of imaginative techniques in archival research. Jean Quéniart's book on eighteenth-century cultural life in nine cities of western France is among the most innovative examples of this kind of scholarship.

Quéniart considers three broad questions: who could read, what was read, and what societies, academies, and performing troupes contributed to cultural life from the late 1690s to 1789. Each of these questions is treated at several levels. Comparisons among the various towns reveal widely diverse patterns. Comparisons at approximate generational intervals provide a diachronic dimension. And a careful social analysis shows the structure of culture across the classes and orders (and between men and women) of the *ancien régime*. The result of this triple analytical method is an extraordinarily rich and persuasive description of the social history of culture for a large part of urban France.

In the opening section of his book, Quéniart breaks new ground with a penetrating analysis of levels of literacy. Previous approaches to this subject have used evidence from marriage registrations in parish records to compute percentages of literacy. Quéniart refines this technique considerably. Instead of a simple literate-illiterate classification based on the presence or absence of the bride or groom's signature, he distinguishes six levels of writing proficiency. This sophisticated categorization, based in part on a study of how children learn to write today, makes earlier efforts seem crude.

Yet Quéniart is well aware of the limitations of this way of measuring cultural capability. The second part of his book approaches the question from the perspective of library holdings by systemically surveying property inventories registered in 1697–98, 1727–28, 1757–58, and 1787–88. In these chapters, as in his earlier ones, the author's method enables him to demonstrate the overall increase in number of books, their deeper social penetration, and dramatic changes in literary taste over the course of the century. But cultural progress was uneven. Literacy rates were highest in Rouen and other towns where judicial-administrative elites or booming capitalistic economies created a demand for literate skills. Though the number of books purchased grew throughout the period, literacy rates held steady or, in some places, even declined after 1760. The author's analysis of these and other anomalies is excellent.

The third part of the book is somewhat more diffuse than the preceding sections. Taking up in turn book production and trade, academies, literary and agricultural societies, freemasonry, music, theater, and public fetes, Quéniart is here on more familiar methodological ground. Still, his discussion of these matters from the provincial perspective is a welcome contrast to the traditional Paris-Versailles orientation.

A short review can only begin to suggest the richness of this book's contribution. Although the author has chosen not to investigate popular culture in any detail, and despite the absence of some badly needed information about book prices and the purchasing power of social groups, this is an important work. Students of culture, society, and politics before and after 1789 will find it highly rewarding.

JOSEPH KLAITS
Oakland University

ROBERT D. HARRIS. *Necker, Reform Statesman of the Ancien Régime*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 259. $16.50.

Robert D. Harris's biography of Jacques Necker (1732–1804) covers the period up to May 1781 when his first appointment as minister of finances came to an end. It is a welcome addition to the recent works that have attempted to do justice to this remarkable and much-maligned minister. Most historians of Bourbon France—Henri Carré, Pierre Gaxotte, Paul Harsin, Herbert Lüthy, Marcel Marion, and Philippe Sagnac, to mention only a few—have depicted Necker as a pompous mediocrity who succeeded only in adding to the monarchy's fatal debts. "Necker accomplished little," wrote R. R. Palmer, "and was followed by Calonne" (*The Age of the Democratic Revolution* [1959] p. 454). In any case, none of the three principal biographies in French, by E. Lavaquery (1933), E. Chapuiset (1938), and J. Egret (1975) has been translated, and Harris's is the first and only satisfactory biography of Necker in English. For the undergraduate and the general reader, it will be a useful companion to Douglas Dakin's well-known biography of Turgot.

For the professional historian, too, this biography offers much that is worthwhile, even though most of the ideas and a great deal of the material come from other books, as Harris acknowledges in the preface. There is a sensible review of the little that is known of Necker's career as a banker and shareholder in the Indies company, but none of the old questions (for example, about the Canadian bills) has been answered. We are reminded once again of the dogmatic blindness and intellectual limitations

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of Dupont de Nemours and his physiocratic friends (chap. 4 and pp. 82, 97, and 119). On the politics of Necker's rise and fall, Harris gives us, I think, the most thorough account written so far.

In writing of French finances, the main subject after all, this author is at his best in defending the *Compte rendu* of 1781 (chap. 14) with the help of some neglected papers he found in Necker's house at Coppet. He tends here and in chapter 8, on the financing of the American war, to trust figures of revenue, expenditure, and debt that some of us would hold suspect, but the argument is nonetheless interesting. Why so many other historians have preferred Calonne's figures to Necker's is hard to understand. Harris is weaker in dealing with Necker's financial reforms because he does not fully appreciate the changing role of the royal treasury and is otherwise not very sure-footed in explaining the financial system. For instance, in view of what Harris tells us concerning the vital *états au vrai*, it may be useful to know that "several accountants, such as the treasurers for war and marine, the receiver general for the *parties casuelles*, are obliged to account to the council by *états au vrai*" (*Encylopédie méthodique. Finances*, II [1785] p. 85). In other words, these accountants and not the royal council prepared their *états au vrai*. To say more along these lines would be mean, for the biographer has to treat so many issues that he cannot be expected to master them all. Even with its limitations, a biography as careful, clear, and thoughtful as this one is something to be grateful for.

J. F. BOSHER
York University

JEANNE A. OJALA. *Auguste de Colbert: Aristocratic Survival in an Era of Upheaval, 1793–1809.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 199. $15.00.

Jeanne A. Ojala has produced an interesting and useful military biography of one of the less well-known Napoleonic generals, Auguste de Colbert. The younger son of a "camp marshal" (apparently a deceivingly literal translation of *maréchal de camp*) and a member of the Old Regime's nobility of the sword, he enlisted in the armies of the Republic in 1793 while still a couple of months short of his sixteenth birthday. Commissioned two years later, Colbert followed a career that reflects the military history of the period: service in the Low Countries, Egypt, Syria, Italy, Germany, Poland, and finally Spain, where he was killed in combat in early January 1809 at the age of thirty-one. In the course of these continuous campaigns, Colbert's bravery and ability as a cavalry officer earned him rapid promotion: captain in 1797, major a year later, colonel in 1800, and general of brigade in 1805.

The author integrates Colbert's personal experience into military and political developments of the time. Most important, her description of Colbert's career provides keen insights into the operation of the French army during this period. Although he originally enlisted during the Terror in order to avoid possible proscription as a former noble and despite an intense personal loyalty to Napoleon, Colbert was essentially apolitical. His dominant characteristic was ambition for military advancement; he did not hesitate to exploit his relatives (including his wife) and his connections (including Grouchy, Murat, and Ney) toward this end. One of the most persistent and striking themes in this study is the immense physical toll imposed upon the soldiers and officers of the victorious French forces that led this young general to urge his emperor to expedite rewards "for I am old" (p. 170).

A major strength of this book, which is based largely upon public and family archives, is the impression that Colbert's story, despite some personal peculiarities, is not unique. It is, therefore, unfortunate that Ojala makes no serious effort to indicate what characteristics he shared with other French generals of this period. How many were Old Regime nobles who made successful accommodation to new opportunities? How typical was Colbert's career? This is an especially frustrating fault since this kind of information is readily available in Georges Six's *Les Généraux de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, which is cited in neither notes nor bibliography. This would have enhanced the value of this well-written, useful biography.

SAMUEL F. SCOTT
Wayne State University

EDWARD A. WHITCOMB. *Napoleon's Diplomatic Service.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 218. $14.75.

Edward A. Whitcomb is presently a member of the Canadian diplomatic service. His book is an important contribution to Napoleonic studies, diplomatic history, and administrative history. It is tightly written, structurally balanced, and ably researched. The conclusion makes brief comparisons between the theory of bureaucracy (drawing on Max Weber and F. Morstein Marx) and its practice in Napoleon's diplomatic service.

The author is thoroughly familiar with the relevant archival repositories—Quai d'Orsay, Archives de la Guerre, Archives Nationales, and Archives Privées. Through these sources, we follow a French diplomatic courier on his rounds to European states and courts, secure a clear picture of the structure and functions of the internal and external diplo-

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matic service, and learn why diplomats were appointed and dismissed and how they were trained. Whitcomb also analyzes the social background, age, and length of service of members of the diplomatic corps. From 1800 to 1814, he concludes, the corps became increasingly experienced, stable, and professional: "Napoleon created the best diplomatic service of the period and probably one of the best of the nineteenth century" (p. 158).

Yet Napoleon undermined the diplomatic corps' professionalism by appointing friends, relatives, and generals. He could not delegate responsibility, and too often his foreign minister was little more than a *premier commis*. Above all, Napoleon failed to accept the advice of his diplomatic service concerning crucial questions of war and peace, which "explains in part his ultimate political failure" (p. 158). In the chapter on "Advice and Flattery," Whitcomb examines advice given to Napoleon by General Andréossy, Champagny, General Lauriston, and Caulaincourt, all of whom vigorously advised Napoleon against actions that he eventually took. The author uses this analysis to argue against the widely held notion that Napoleon's government progressively deteriorated because of the progressive deterioration of his advisors.

The villain in this monograph is Talleyrand, the foreign minister who gave Napoleon the worst advice. It is easy to agree with this position, but many readers will find Whitcomb's evidence for it weak. Also, the author refers to the diplomatic service under Louis XIV but neglects the entire eighteenth century. He cites Frédéric Masson with approval to the effect that Napoleon's diplomatic system was "the system of 1789" (p. 19). We need a few more glances, backward in time, to establish this point. But the point raises a nagging question. Did Napoleon allow his modern, sophisticated, "excellent," and bureaucratic diplomatic service to develop, or did he personally create it?

Whitcomb's judicious study adds to our picture of Napoleon as an administrative genius but a political failure and as an "Enlightened Despot" rather than a "Son of the Revolution."

THADD E. HALL
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LAURA S. STRUMINGHER. *Women and the Making of the Working Class: Lyon, 1830–1870.* (Monographs in Women's Studies.) Montreal: Eden Press. 1979. Pp. iii, 161. $12.00.

In the preface of this monograph, Laura S. Strumingher theorizes that nineteenth-century workers failed to form a unified class because working men and women "acquired different perspectives on their positions as workers" (p. i). She tries to substantiate this novel theory with a detailed study, based on archival research, of the Lyonnais silk workers. She elaborates on the familiar but not fully accepted thesis that the factory system, by moving productive work out of the home, inspired an ideology of separate spheres for men and women and ushered in a "sentimental" family with a domestic wife/mother. Her special contribution comes in showing how bourgeois society, including feminists, tried to inculcate the new industrial discipline and the new ideal of housewife through free elementary education, Providences, and convent workshops. But her argument hinges on the acceptance by working men, including socialists, of the new sexual division of labor. She claims, and cites cases where, working men relegated women to the home and excluded them from unions to limit competition.

The interpretation intrigues, the information interests, but the two do not quite fit. The problem begins with the choice of Lyon, which, while important, was not "typical." Strumingher's efforts to make the silk industry conform to the classic pattern of industrialization strain the evidence. There were very few silk weaving factories in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century (and Strumingher's one example, as well as the other weaving factory in the city, did not survive the 1840s). Similarly, her own figures belie the importance of the Providences and convent workshops. Equally problematical is the dearth of direct testimony on working women's attitudes toward their work, although these would seem to be central to Strumingher's theory. The book does cite little-known instances of working women's actions, especially in 1848, that imply that spinners saw themselves as (paid) workers not housewives.

If the case study does not prove the hypothesis, it does provide previously lacking information on working women's education and training. Similarly, Strumingher reveals and analyzes the (Lyonnais) Church's program to socialize a new urban and industrial work force. The book suggests a new approach to socialization of workers, as well as a new perspective on class consciousness. Both suggestions deserve more attention, in other contexts.

MARY LYNN MCDOUGALL
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CHARLES E. FREEDEMAN. *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807–1867: From Privileged Company to Modern Corporation.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 234. $17.50.

Economic modernization in France during the mid-nineteenth century greatly intensified the need to mobilize capital. Creating joint-stock business en-

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terprises was one potential way to meet growing demands for capital investment, professionalization of management, and internal reinvestment for long-term profit. In this book, Charles Freedeman traces the development of joint-stock business enterprises during this formative period.

Theoretically, French law was comparatively liberal. The 1807 *Code de Commerce* recognized two business forms involving limited liability and negotiable shares. The first was the *société en commandite par actions*, a partnership with inactive partners enjoying limited liability and the right to transfer shares "to bearer." The second was the *société anonyme*, a corporation in the modern sense.

The *société anonyme* offered advantages, but until 1867 only a limited number were formed. The main problem was that it required governmental authorization. This proved difficult to secure, for conservative officials felt they were guardians of business probity. Those proposing a *société anonyme* faced a long process of investigation and a good chance that their project would not receive approval.

These difficulties in obtaining authorization made the *société en commandite* more attractive; it was easy to form and was increasingly turned to—often for large enterprises. But the more it was used, the more pressure there was for restrictive legislation. Officials felt it was subject to promotional and speculative abuses. In 1856, legislation restricting the *société en commandite* was finally passed, leading to an immediate decline in its use. But in turn this increased demands to ease restraints on the *société anonyme*, for laws on similar business forms were being liberalized abroad and sentiment that governmental involvement was inappropriate was growing. The law of 1867 eliminated the need for governmental authorization and opened the era of free incorporation and limited liability.

In many ways this is a fine monograph. Its strengths are in its description of the legal and legislative history and its clear presentation of the number, kind, and capitalization of joint-stock business enterprises that were formed. In addition to some excellent charts in the text, there is a list in the appendix detailing each *société anonyme* authorized. The chief problem with the book is with what Freedeman apparently chooses not to do. He does not analyze sufficiently the significance of joint-stock business forms for economic modernization. He too quickly dismisses a fundamental issue by stating that whether or not policy toward the *société anonyme* retarded French economic development is irrelevant for there was no reason why France's institutions should have been better than others. He does not adequately explain why officials did not take advantage of liberal laws on joint-stock business organizations and support their formation and activities. He misses opportunities to be more comparative with countries such as England and Belgium, especially since many officials recognized France had special problems mobilizing capital. In short, although this study is not as analytically challenging as it might be, it is a welcome, useful book on an area of great significance that is generally overlooked by historians.

DENNIS M. SHERMAN
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WILLIAM SERMAN. *Les origines des officiers français, 1848–1870.* (Publications de la Sorbonne, Série "N.S. Recherches," number 33.) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 1979. Pp. 406.

For historians interested in the social history of the French army, the publication of Raoul Girardet's *La société militaire dans la France contemporaine (1815–1939)* in 1953 offered a brilliant, provocative essay that opened perspectives for further research. Having illuminated the landscape, Girardet left the mapping of contours to those willing to survey in detail. Such detailed analysis is the contribution of William Serman's impressive study, a veritable storehouse of information containing numerous charts, tables, maps, and graphs relating to the social origins and composition of the French army's officer corps in mid-nineteenth-century France.

In addition to providing a vast array of data gleaned from sources ranging from military archives to memoirs and novels, Serman both reinforces and revises a number of assumptions, derived largely from Girardet, Chalmin, and others, about French officers. He confirms the impression that the officer corps was far less aristocratic than its counterparts beyond the Rhine or across the Channel. The French army's recruitment of officers was more open and less self-contained than either the Prussian army with its careful social screening or the British army's commission purchase plan offered to less-talented sons of the gentry. The French army's dual system enabled commissions to be won by graduation from one of the special military schools or by promotion from the NCO ranks. By mid-century the largest percentage of officers (69 or 72 percent, depending on the table read) had gained commissions from the ranks. This dual recruitment reflected a compromise between advocates of a democratic principle of equal opportunity and supporters of specialized preparation for military leadership. The July Monarchy eliminated all special appointments for privileged classes. Access to St. Cyr or the École Polytechnique was by examination only, and the Second Republic expanded the number of scholarship places. Consequently, the officer corps was predominantly a middle-class or even a plebian affair. The nobility supplied only 8 percent

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of the officers from 1848 to 1870, and they tended to retire early.

The more democratic appearance of the French officer corps did not mean that advancement was shared equally. The great majority of plebian promotions to second lieutenant came from the ranks and came at a much later average age (twenty-eight to thirty versus twenty in some branches) than for graduates of the military schools. These late appointments meant advancement no higher than captain or perhaps lieutenant colonel before retirement. Moreover, the preponderance of plebian officers were located in branches of service (supply, infantry) least likely to offer access to the higher ranks, while the middle class predominated in branches (intelligence, general staff) with quicker promotion rates. The cavalry remained an upper-class preserve, but promotion here was not exceptionally rapid. For all practical purposes, middle-class officers attained the higher ranks. Despite an impressive and increasing number of officers from modest origins who found a channel for mobility in the army, there was a de facto inequality of opportunity.

Serman does away with the myth that military families dominated the officer corps in the nineteenth century. The military profession was more open than the bench in France, and it offered opportunities to outsiders on a par with secondary school teachers. Internal recruitment did not become a characteristic of the French officer corps until a century later; 40 percent of the commissions in 1939 and 53 percent in 1972 went to sons of military families.

Although diversity characterized the family background of officers, certain regions of France, notably the frontier departments, Corsica, and the Seine, provided a greater proportion of officers per capita than, say, central France or even the traditionally conservative west. Serman presents an impressive social geography with the requisite maps to support his arguments, although some of the map making leads to pomposity, as in the graphic showing that officers of rural origins came from predominantly rural districts.

An occasional absurdity aside, Serman's contribution cannot be underestimated. His scholarship is thorough, and his book is one of the most valuable additions to the social history of the French officer corps to have appeared in the past twenty-five years. It is a must for military and social historians alike.

J. KIM MUNHOLLAND
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TONY JUDT. *Socialism in Provence, 1871–1914: A Study in the Origins of the Modern French Left*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 370. Cloth $42.50, paper $12.95.

In recent years, histories of French socialism have played down the support given to the movement by industrial workers. Joan Scott and others have placed emphasis on artisans and the threat that they perceived in modern industrial development. Tony Judt, in an exhaustive analysis of (lower) Provence, particularly the Var Department, has placed his emphasis on the peasants, who "found in the French socialist movement a vehicle for the expression of their discontents at the effects of industrialisation" (p. 298). That they did this, however, was due less to any tradition of revolutionary sentiment than to "the specific nature and promises of socialism." Hence the ideological dimension of socialism, which it has become fashionable to slight or even dismiss, is here rehabilitated. The consequences of what is seen as a village-based socialism, no less than that based in the cities, were vast. It contributed significantly to the integration of the peasantry into the nation; through its antagonism to the political system of the Third Republic, rural France came to identify with it (p. 300). But the large peasant base, however necessary for socialism's political viability, diminished the capacity of the party to seize and retain power in Paris and the industrial regions and so explains much of the SFIO's failure.

This bald rendition cannot do justice to Judt's richly nuanced presentation. Using national and departmental archives, he takes issue with Léo Loubère (*Radicalism in Mediterranean France, 1898–1914*), who denied that successful Socialist candidates ran on "truly collectivist" programs. The "tone" and socioeconomic detail of these programs offered responses to the economic crises of the 1880s (the fall in prices, phylloxera, and foreign competition), and their doctrine was marked by a revolutionary, "almost apocalyptic character" (p. 235). Thus, Judt's Socialists are not Loubère's "pink-tinged Radicals." Nor are they Claude Willard's (*Les Guesdistes*) simplistic Marxist materialists. Why farmers gave continued support to a party committed to ultimate socialization of the land is explained (although not in an entirely satisfactory way) by the economic geography of the region and the sociability of its inhabitants, driven to the left by economic crises. They saw land reform and redistribution as a means of overcoming their misfortune.

Clearly, Judt is less concerned with socialism in Provence than with why Provence turned to socialism. Only about a third of the book discusses such things as party membership, organization, relations with other parties, and responses to the issues of the day. The peasant-socialists themselves seldom come alive; individuals are named only to illustrate ab-

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stractions; and there seems little appreciation of what they were fighting for. I also found the book overstructured, inevitable perhaps, given its division into descriptive and analytical halves. But when the writing rises above its analytical monotone, as in the chapter on "Provençal sociability," it is very good indeed. In addition to his reinterpretations, Judt provides a justification for regional history and argues for a social history that is more than a compilation of data with an appended conclusion; he asks that a cluster of questions be raised. Judt himself has asked the right questions and has consequently produced an important and probably enduring book.

LESLIE DERFLER
Florida Atlantic University

JAN KARL TANENBAUM. *France and the Arab Middle East, 1914–1920.* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 68, part 7.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1978. Pp. 50. $6.00.

This short study, using French archival sources, adds to a burgeoning body of scholarship on the controversial consequences of Western policies in the Middle East during the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. French and British imperialists, along with Hashimite Arab nationalists, Lebanese Christians, Zionists, and, hesitantly, Americans maneuvered for recognized positions and potential advantages. The resulting standoffs, resurrecting an Eastern question with new ambiguities, help to explain the Middle East's mosaic of persistent conflicts.

Inevitably, for students of these problems, lines can be drawn, sides taken. Jan Karl Tanenbaum argues that France exercised a dominant influence in the Arab Middle East on the eve of World War I and determined, through the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the political settlement in Syria and Lebanon after the war, despite a serious challenge from the British and the Hashimite Arabs. This view obscures both the pre-existing weaknesses in the French position and the extent to which French imperialists aiming for a greater share settled for a minimal one. Tanenbaum provides strong evidence that the Sykes-Picot Agreement, so controversial to students of the triangular politics of Briton, Arab, and Zionist, really had a meaningful existence only in the corridors of the Quai d'Orsay. He shows how, in the absence of any effective military presence, France came to rely on the agreement as its guarantee of an equitable portion of the Ottoman Empire. Asquith's government was disposed to honor it, but Lloyd George's found the commitment to France increasingly distasteful as the fortunes of war favored expansion to bridge the strategic gap between the Persian Gulf and Egypt.

Clemenceau, a reluctant imperialist at best, readily abandoned French claims in Mosul and Palestine in the expectation of holding Lloyd George to the rest of the agreement. Precariously riding the high waves of Wilsonian self-determination at the peace conference, Lloyd George continued to support the Arab nationalists centered in Damascus under the leadership of the Hashimite amir, Faisal, and shielded them from French pressure with a British garrison. Tanenbaum convincingly observes, however, that for Britain "Arab self-determination was surprisingly restricted; basically it meant the absence of France from the Moslem Middle East" (p. 22). Less convincingly, he attributes Britain's subsequent withdrawal to vigorous French protests. With the gates of Damascus ajar and Arab nationalists unwilling to accept even indirect subordination to France, the new Mitterand government, more pronounced in its imperialist convictions, orchestrated the occupation of Syria in 1920. Britain gave the green light at the San Remo Conference, having discovered how infectious Arab aspirations were in opposition to direct rule in Iraq and Palestine.

Tanenbaum's sketch supplements rather than complements studies based primarily on British or American sources; it invites translation onto a full canvas. At present the validity of focusing on the far-reaching consequences of individual actions needs affirmation but not at the expense of the accompanying framework of social, economic, cultural, military, or psychological factors. They are necessary to understand the breakdown of Franco-Arab conciliation, which Tanenbaum is satisfied to blame on shortsighted leadership. They also explain, better than do French protests, why the British, so overextended, withdrew from Syria. Finally, they may account more fully for the French occupation of Damascus, a Pyrrhic victory to be reversed by the same forces during World War II after a mandate that Tanenbaum chooses to characterize as "wasteful, debilitating, and humiliating—for the French and the Arabs" (p. 43).

JOHN P. SPAGNOLO
Simon Fraser University

JAMES CASEY. *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 271. $32.50.

James Casey's new volume in the Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History, edited by J. H. Elliott and H. G. Koenigsberger, testifies again to the excellence of the studies and to the high standards Elliott's students are carrying forward. It is not brash to suggest that he and they have revolutionized the study of Habsburg Spain.

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In his concise introduction Casey states his basic interests: to explore the complex center-periphery relations essential to an understanding of early modern Spain and to see why Valencia remained the most loyal of the peripheral provinces during this century of internal revolt and catastrophe and defeat and humiliation abroad. Within these themes, he also delves into the political and economic impact of the expulsion of the Moriscos during 1609–10. Above all, Casey analyzes "the nature of the much-debated 'decline,' from which Valencia and all Spain seemed to be suffering, and the way in which a relatively stable political structure could be built on such apparently shifting sands" (p. 3). The author carries forward for the entire century the work he began for his 1968 dissertation on Valencia, 1609–50. His interpretations and conclusions are based upon massive archival diggings and are always modified by his recognition of gaps in the evidence and problems posed by contemporary opinions in the data.

In several contexts Casey notes that, despite some potential for Valencia to develop in a northwest European fashion, it went instead the way of a Sicily. Supported by constant references to his sources, he makes his case painstakingly and powerfully. Indeed, even those individuals and families who advanced their social status reinforced the deadening status quo: despite the Second Germania of 1693, the better-off peasantry remained conservative and were aroused only by excessive quasi-feudal obligations to the *senyors*, particularly those centering on the wheat harvests. The upper nobility, descended mostly from "new" families in the fifteenth century, led the way in provincial indebtedness and never really challenged royal authority. (Chapters 4, 6, and 7 provide especially impressive discussions of the several levels of indebtedness across social strata and institutions.) And the king had some unique reservoirs of patronage to dangle before the Valencian aristocracy, such as offices and emoluments from the royally held provincial Order of Montesa. Despite the steady advance of royal authority in this century in Valencia, however, the crown backed off from an explicit attack on the *fueros* and the realities of provincial power, as many of Casey's specifics show. The growing exclusiveness of provincial (and municipal) oligarchies actually rendered them that much more vulnerable to royal pressures as their "critical mass" diminished. The fear that oligarchies and the crown's agencies and representatives had for the "mob" further cemented the understood, unstated relations between them that in turn fostered the surprisingly stable, not to say stagnant, political structure that, despite 1707, continued in its essentials to the nineteenth century.

Although the Moriscos' expulsion meant an absolute population loss of one-third, resettlement made up some of that damage. Occasional plagues contributed, as elsewhere, to the problem. As one thinks about Casey's data on the lack of incentive, undercapitalization of agriculture and industry, patterns of marriage and kinship, poor nutrition, patronage, and the very gerontocratic nature of much of the province's administration, one must agree with him when he says that perhaps the "silk for bread" exchange (p. 85) was what kept this subsistence economy afloat at all.

Of course this last point shows, too, how Valencia mirrored the larger Spain, which exchanged its raw materials for foods and finished goods, just as the Castilian *juro* had its Valencian counterpart in *censal*-based debt funding. Both became primary forms of investment and prestige and as hereditary—and stifling—as entail itself. This concise, richly detailed, well-argued book is a basic contribution to the ongoing discussion of the important issues its author raised in his introduction and pursued so effectively; as he repeatedly reminds us, it is by no means the last word.

PAUL J. HAUBEN
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JACQUES SOUBEYROUX. *Pauperisme et rapports sociaux à Madrid au XVIIIième siècle.* In two volumes. Lille: Université de Lille III; distributed by Librarie Honoré Champion. 1978. Pp. 1,125.

In this impressive French doctoral thesis, Jacques Soubeyroux has written the most comprehensive treatment of the problem of poverty and the poor in early modern Spain yet published. Although the author considers nearly every aspect of the question from the eighteenth-century debate on the causes of poverty to the history of specific institutions engaged in poor relief, the strength of his study lies in its descriptions of the sociological and economic conditions in which the poor of the Spanish capital lived. His analysis of immigration, occupational, age, and sex patterns among the urban poor, estimated at 50 percent of the city's population, provides the first detailed configuration of the world of Spanish poverty.

Using price and wage data, the author traces the increasing pauperization of Madrid's lower classes after 1750 and stresses the crisis of the traditional poor relief system during the final two decades of the Old Regime (1790–1808) under the pressure of inflation, economic difficulties, epidemics, and food shortages. The study also emphasizes the growing role of the state in organizing assistance to the poor, particularly through the *diputaciones de barrio* that began to function in 1778. Insofar as this study has a weakness, it is the emphasis on the role of the state and government-connected institutions in poor re-

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lief. The author properly devotes attention to hospices, public charity hospitals, civil legislation on mendicity, and the policy of royal institutions, such as the Council of Castile. Little attention, however, is devoted to the numerous charitable activities of a host of voluntary associations, organized usually for religious motives, that made a substantial, and perhaps equally important, contribution to poor relief. But this reservation aside, the work significantly enlarges our knowledge of an important aspect of Spanish social history.

WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN
University of Toronto

EARL R. BECK. *A Time of Triumph and of Sorrow: Spanish Politics during the Reign of Alfonso XII, 1874–1885.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press and Feffer and Simons, London. 1979. Pp. ix, 307. $17.50.

The subtitle of Earl R. Beck's book is a concise indication of its contents: Spanish politics during the reign of Alfonso XII, 1874–85. Central to the investigation is the king's relationship to his ministers, primarily Antonio Cánovas del Castillo and Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. Throughout, the political dominates; economic and social questions are eschewed, except at the level of state administration.

Relying extensively on diplomatic dispatches from foreign representatives in Madrid (particularly those of Klaus Eberhard Theodor, Graf zu Solms-Sonnenwalde, German envoy after 1878 and a close personal friend of Alfonso), Beck pictures the young king as a stronger and more capable man than have previous historians. Throughout his brief life, Alfonso was an ardent Germanophile who worked to build friendship with the Reich, sought to modernize the Spanish army in emulation of the German, and saw in the relationship of the Kaiser and Bismarck a model for himself and Cánovas. Alfonso was, Beck demonstrates, a promoter of administrative modernization and, especially after General Martínez Campos's involvement in Cuba catapulted him into home politics, removal of the military from politics. The king's influence appeared stronger during Sagasta's ministry (February 1881 to October 1883) than Cánovas's. This was due both to Alfonso's increasing maturity (he was seventeen in 1874; twenty-three in 1881) and to his own liberal inclinations. The king himself remarked, "Sagasta was, of course, much more agreeable for me" (p. 172).

"But," the king continued, "I feel myself safer with Cánovas" (p. 172). This is the key to both the reign and the book. Throughout Beck's pages, it is Cánovas who dominates. It was he who stabilized and maintained the political order. Although Beck's preface states his intention to highlight Alfonso (and by extension to speculate about a contemporary parallel, King Juan Carlos), by the middle of the book Alfonso has not yet been discussed in any substantial fashion. His appearance becomes important only in 1881. In short, although the king was less manipulated by Cánovas than traditional interpretations would have it and clearly had a mind of his own, his youth, his inclination to personal indulgence, the backwardness of Spain, and the superior political acumen of Cánovas all prevented Alfonso from following the German model or maximizing the opportunities for independent action provided by the Constitution of 1876.

Beck has presented a clear summary of the politics of the early Restoration. This is especially welcome to students and scholars since it is the first work in English focusing on the era. The study is weakened, however, by two problems. The first is structural; commitment to a strict chronological approach causes the author to jump from subject to subject and back. This results in a lack of coherence and little differentiation in topical importance. Second, there is a lack of background; the political analysis sits isolated from previous constitutional and political events. Specifically, Beck implies that Cánovas's conception of an "internal constitution," which developed over time by virtue of the monarchical system, was new, thus neglecting what Richard Herr, among others, has pointed out: this had been a component of Spanish liberalism since 1812. Further, one misses reference to the political and social order established by the *moderados* in the two decades following 1843. Upon this, in part at least, was the Restoration built. Greater attention to context, both in terms of historical background and with regard to society during Alfonso's reign, would have strengthened this study.

NANCY A. ROSENBLATT
Pennsylvania State University

SHLOMO BEN-AMI. *The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1978. Pp. xii, 356. $23.50.

This monograph deals with a neglected phase of contemporary Spanish history, the transitional years 1929–31 when the monarchy of Alfonso XIII was dying and the Second Republic was struggling to be born. It enlarges our understanding of the 1930s as a revolutionary era by focusing on the powerful surge of republicanism that swept over Spain after the fall of Primo de Rivera and by detailing the efforts made to transform anti-monarchical euphoria into republican solidarity. It is essentially a history of the San Sebastián alliance and of the complex tactical maneuvering by which

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a governing coalition was formed and the republic founded.

Shlomo Ben-Ami evokes the spontaneity and wide diffusion of the republican revival. He avoids an economic interpretation of the fall of the monarchy, seeing the crisis of 1929–31 as primarily a reaction to the authoritarianism of Primo de Rivera. The republican wave was largely the result of the politicization of the unpolitical, the bringing into political life for the first time of the "neutral mass." Republicanism was thus a consciousness independent of specific parties, a vague but revolutionary aspiration toward modernity and "europeanization," and Ben-Ami notes the ideological shallowness and opportunism of large numbers of recently converted republicans in a period when republicanism was virtually de rigeur for everyone from bullfighters to beauty queens.

This work is mainly concerned with what might be termed the micropolitics of the republican and monarchist parties in a crucial transitional period. Much attention is devoted to the rapid proliferation of republican organizations after July 1929 and to their day-by-day efforts to forge the unified movement—embracing the Catalan republican parties and the Socialists—without which there could be no republic. The level of analysis is largely political and programmatic, and one might wish that Ben-Ami had paid somewhat more attention to the social bases, ideologies, and even the psychology of republicanism. Nevertheless, the political orientations of more than a dozen republican parties are skillfully surveyed, and the author makes his way knowledgeably through the complexities of republican, monarchical, and regional politics, clearly less dismayed by the fissiparous quality of Spanish political life than some of the readers may be.

Of interest is Ben-Ami's analysis of the response of the monarchist parties to the republican challenge, which motivated them to modernize their organizations for the first time and to seek to mobilize the masses in an open, competitive political struggle. He seems ambivalent about the strength of monarchism in Spain in this period, at times denigrating perhaps too much the spontaneity and authenticity of promonarchist sentiment. Certainly the monarchists were never able to articulate a common political program and strategy, and Ben-Ami again adroitly negotiates a dismaying political labyrinth, chronicling in detail the disagreements between *Mauristas, Bugallalistas, Ciervistas, Laboristas, Albiñanistas, Romanonistas, Garciaprietistas, Albistas, Jaimistas,* and others.

In the end, no profound or novel explanation is given for the failure of the monarchists in the crucial 1931 elections. The author believes that they were defeated not by their lack of ideas or organization nor even by the contingencies of the political struggle that he has so exhaustively chronicled but because their republican enemies were simply stronger in an era in which the masses were being politicized and mobilized.

This is a carefully researched and massively documented work—a monograph whose scope is deliberately restricted so that many important movements and events of the period are alluded to only in passing as part of a background with which the specialist reader is assumed to be familiar. As an intensive investigation of a carefully delimited segment of reality, it is scholarly, judicious, and thorough, a work that will be of continuing value to historians interested in the origins of the Spanish Civil War.

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ROBERT W. KERN. *Red Years, Black Years: A Political History of Spanish Anarchism, 1911–1937.* Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues. 1978. Pp. xiv, 335. Cloth $19.50, paper $7.95.

Red Years, Black Years is an excellent book. Robert W. Kern capably weaves the always complex, sometimes frustrating, and often sad history of Spanish anarchism into a highly readable work. The major strengths of the study are several: Kern deals effectively with the relationship between the leftist political groups of the Second Republic, the internal variations of anarchist thought, and leading anarchist personalities.

Kern details the relationship between the goals of various leftist factions in Spain, suggesting that competitions, jealousies, and misunderstandings resulted in their failure to achieve their common goal—social revolution. The intricate and tenuous relationship between the Catalan government and the anarchists is sorted out, as is the relationship between the anarchists and the Andalusian peasant movements, including the famous Black Hand.

Kern clarifies the philosophical differences among anarchist groups both within Spain and in the international movement—for example, the relationship among the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica*, the larger, more moderate *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*, and the *Asociación International de los Trabajadores*. He is especially sensitive to the anarchist situation in Spain in 1936 and remarks that Spanish anarchists lost a unique opportunity for success because of special problems that demanded practical and realistic action contrary to their principles.

Kern delineates the points of agreement and disagreement between the leading personalities of the movement—Federica Montseny, the traditional individualistic anarchist and philosophical spokeswoman for the working class who, with her father,

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Federico Urales, kept the ideas of anarchists alive during the dismal days of the 1920s; Durruti and his companions, the romantic, adventurous Robin Hoods of anarchism; and Juan García Oliver, the illusive anarchist militant of the 1920s and 1930s who became Largo Caballero's minister of justice. Especially important in this area is Kern's analysis of the ideas and role of Diego Abad de Santillán, the Argentine anarchist economic theoretician and Civil War participant.

Kern could have included more detailed information concerning the ties between Portuguese and Spanish anarchism, the activities of anarchist ministers in Largo Caballero's cabinet, the machinations of the 1937 May Days in Barcelona. Despite this, the book's particular strength lies in Kern's ability to capture the roller coaster character of anarchist history, a history of great enthusiasm, great depression, great agonizing. Kern captures this mood well in this highly synthetic work. It is commmendable that he is able to remain objective while conveying to the reader the spirit of the moment. He keeps a taut rein on the divergent strands of a divergent movement.

Kern undertook a task that many have thought to be impossible and has proven that perseverance is its own reward. His command of the bibliography in the field, including extensive use of the Rudolph Rocker Collection in the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, substantiates his judgments and will aid other researchers to explore other facets of this topic in more detail.

SHIRLEY F. FREDRICKS
Adams State College

ANGEL VIÑAS. *El Oro de Moscú: Alfa y omega de un mito franquista.* (Dimensiones Hispánicas, number 23.) Barcelona: Ediciones Grijalbo. 1979. Pp. 535.

During the Spanish Civil War, the Republican government shipped a large part of the gold reserves of the privately owned bank of emission, the Banco de España, to the Soviet Union. The Franco regime accused the "Communist" government of the republic of having "stolen" the gold and repeatedly called for its return, even several decades after the war was over.

In this careful study, one of Spain's leading Civil War historians uses a vast amount of formerly inaccessible documentation to examine both the fate of the gold itself and the myth to which it gave rise. Ángel Viñas reveals that within a week of the outbreak of the war, the Giral government, which had no Socialist or Communist members, began selling gold to France to obtain the foreign exchange it needed to buy aircraft and other military supplies. In September 1936, Juan Negrín, the minister of finance in Largo Caballero's government, greatly increased the scope of these sales. By the end of 1936, one-quarter of Spain's gold reserves had already been sold, not to the USSR, but to the French central bank.

In October 1936, the republic sent most of Spain's remaining gold reserves to the Soviet Union. Subsequently it sold them to the USSR to buy foreign exchange with which to pay for supplies. Roughly one-third of the proceeds were spent in Russia, but two-thirds were channeled through a Soviet-controlled bank in Paris to pay for purchases outside the Soviet Union. By mid-1938, the gold had all been sold. During the final year of the war, the republic had to rely on credits from the USSR, sale of privately held gold and silver, and the sale of Spain's silver reserves. (The United States officially purchased $16 million of the silver from Spain.) Unfortunately, Viñas's documentation does not permit him to determine how the republic spent the funds obtained through these operations nor where the money sent to Paris was eventually used.

Without entering into juridical arguments about the ownership of the gold and the relations between the privately owned Banco de España and the Spanish government, Viñas concludes that the Nonintervention Agreement, the unwillingness of France and Great Britain to aid the republic, and the high level of Italian and German support of Franco left the republic no alternative to using the gold to finance its war effort. The republic financed purchases of arms and supplies through the sale of gold, the Nationalists through credits from Italy and Germany.

Viñas reproduces many documents both in text and in appendixes. In addition to dealing authoritatively with his main theme, he gives, in passing, much information about other aspects of the war. As a result the book is unnecessarily long and somewhat diffuse but extraordinarily rich, interesting, and well documented.

JOHN F. COVERDALE
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RAMÓN SERRANO SUÑER. *Memorias: Entre el silencio y la propaganda, la historia como fue.* Barcelona: Editorial Planeta. 1977. Pp. 559.

Ramón Serrano Suñer strode the political earth of Spain for only five years (1937–42), but he was something of a titan. Handsome, cultured, and vocal, he held the posts of minister of foreign affairs, minister of the interior, and president of the *Junta Política* of the Falange, at times simultaneously. He was also married to a sister of Francisco Franco's wife. Clearly, Spain's dictator held him in high regard at a crucial juncture in modern Spanish history.

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Surely this mentor of the generalissimo has something to say. Yet, scholars will be disappointed with these memoirs: they are not profoundly informative, stress some hackneyed themes, and lack the perspicuousness and pungency of the author's *Entre Hendaya y Gilbraltar* (1947). In extenuation, it must be said that the memoirs were composed before Franco's demise, in a period when the apartment of another former Spanish foreign minister was ransacked by police and a chestful of personal papers confiscated.

It was as a roving emissary and foreign minister, dealing especially with the importunate Axis, that Serrano Suñer performed his greatest services. In the memoirs we at last have an account of the most sensational of those negotiations, the Hendaye Conference. The account is corroborated by German documents, and it has the added value of interring at least one legend: that Franco deliberately arrived late for the meeting. Incredibly, there is scarcely anything else of diplomatic import in the *Memorias*. Serrano Suñer writes virtually nothing about his meetings with Mussolini, Pétain, Salazar, and Laval. There is little about the 1941 accord with the Vatican and nothing about the treaties signed by him with various lesser powers. No references are made to the clandestine refueling of German naval vessels (a practice that ceased when Serrano Suñer left the foreign ministry) or about the use of Spanish diplomatic facilities to gather and convey to the Axis intelligence detrimental to the Allies. A historian will leave this table hungry.

As minister of the interior, Serrano Suñer wielded awesome power on the Spanish domestic scene, yet he provides few details of his manifold activities. His remarks are general and suggest the compunction of hindsight. He attributes the excesses of the nationalists' repression to the application of martial law, to the failure of civilians to gain dominance in the insurgents' regime, and to the misapplication of legal principles. This last point is lamely handled. The reader's hunger continues.

Serrano Suñer offers meat but not much marrow in his description of his labors as a high official of the Falange. Talents varied widely in the party, and the author cites some of the impulsive, the juvenile, and the sycophantic who encouraged the *caudillo* to hobble, then kill, the party as an instrument of meaningful social change. Serrano Suñer does provide new information about conditions attending his removal from office in May 1941 and September 1942. The book contains as well a plethora of tiring data that aims at proving the antiquity and strength of Serrano Suñer's links with José Antonio. Serrano Suñer has, of course, waged that battle for forty years.

Serrano Suñer offers some material about his activities as a deputy in the Republican Cortes after 1931. He also provides some useful vignettes of prominent political and military figures. His account of his 1936 sojourn in the Model Prison is gripping, and he at last submits details of his passage to the rebels' zone. Old scars remain: there are three pictures of Serrano Suñer's brothers, murdered by Republicans.

The author devotes a chapter to the fact that official censorship kept "the new Spain" a cultural wasteland for decades. In the closing pages he underlines his spasmodic attempts, in the 1950s and 1960s, to foster Spain's political and cultural freedom. His statements mirror an emerging theme of the book: that the idealism and reformism of the *Alzamiento* foundered in the face of Franco's untrammeled egotism and dogmatism. The process was facilitated by opportunists, such as Lequerica, for whom Serrano Suñer has much contempt.

Insofar as fact is given, the memoirs seem to contain few errors, and these are mostly chronological. Aside from the failings already noted, the weaknesses of this book stem from "the sin of omission." The author does not tell about history as it was because he does not tell enough, given the richness of his experiences. Perhaps *Memorias* is not so much a memoir as a series of reflections.

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DOUGLAS L. WHEELER. *Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910–1926*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1978. Pp. xii, 340. $20.00.

In modern times Portugal has been the land of negative superlatives. Its imperial history has attracted a certain amount of attention, but metropolitan Portugal, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is rarely studied by foreign scholars. Prior to the anomalous revolution of 1974–75, the only major effort to effect change in contemporary Portugal was the First Republic of 1910–26. This liberal, but not democratic, regime is frequently noted—if referred to at all—as the outstanding instance of political pathology among parliamentary systems of interwar Europe, since it set a sixteen-year record for governmental instability. For half a century, under the long-lived dictatorship that followed, its history was manipulated as a paradigm of political impotence and decay but largely ignored as a subject of serious study.

Douglas L. Wheeler's new book places the political history of the First Portuguese Republic firmly on the historiographic map for the first time. It begins with a lucid introductory essay on modern Portuguese history, followed by brief chapters analyzing the decline of the monarchist regime and the growth of republicanism among middle-class activ-

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ists. The main portions of the book are fairly evenly divided chronologically between the early and later phases of the republic, punctuated by a balanced and informative chapter on the "República Nova" of Sidónio Pais, a would-be Gaullist regime *avant la lettre*.

This path-breaking study draws on a wide variety of sources, ranging from a limited but not inconsiderable memoir literature to an extensive political press. Wheeler supplements the restricted range of archival material that is available with interviews and British diplomatic and consular reports.

The two most noteworthy qualities of the book are its objectivity and balanced tone and the perspicacity and sureness with which it disentangles many of the complications of Portuguese politics. Though it seems clear that Wheeler's sympathies lie with liberal republicanism, he is firm and forthright in his analysis of the dominant and increasingly corrupt and divided Democratic Party, as with other ultimately negative forces in Portuguese politics. In so far as the First Republic did become an exercise in political pathology, the student of Portuguese affairs will have a much more informed notion of the nature and unfolding of the sterile conflicts that undermined the parliamentary system.

Approximately the last 20 percent of the study is devoted to the final phase of 1925–26 and the growth of interventionist praetorianism in the Portuguese military. Thus it not only delineates clearly and accurately the least-understood regime in twentieth-century Europe but also goes far to explain the origins of the semimilitary system that followed. Broadly researched, effectively written, objective in tone, and remarkably sensitive in its unraveling of factional dispute and analysis of institutional breakdown, Wheeler's book is a major contribution to our understanding of the political history of southern Europe in the twentieth century.

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ROELAND WILHELMUS JOHANNES MARIE BOS. *Brits-Nederlandse handel en scheepvaart, 1870–1914: Een analyse van machtsafbrokkeling op een markt* [British-Dutch Trade and Shipping, 1870–1914: An Analysis of the Erosion of Dominance in a Market]. Summary in English. Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of Tilburg, the Netherlands. 1978. Pp. xi, 419.

The overall framework in which Roeland Bos places his doctoral dissertation is the study "not of the nation, but of the whole interrelated trading area à la Rostow." The particular focus is on British-Dutch trade and shipping during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of World War I.

The study is composed of three main elements. The first is an analysis of the economic development of Great Britain and the Netherlands with emphasis on those factors both internal and external that assist in the analysis of economic growth, or the lack of it, in the Netherlands during this period. The second element, which is really the heart of this book, is the study of the economic relations between Great Britain and the Netherlands placed against the background of their respective economic development. The period prior to 1870 also receives attention in order to provide a background to the causes and effects of changes in the nature and the intensity of these economic relations. The infrastructures of shipping and of trade are dealt with in great detail. Commodity flows are analyzed in two groupings. The first is that of British imports into the Netherlands: metals, metal wares and machines, textiles and manufactures, and the import and reexport of coal. The other group of commodities discussed are Dutch exports to Britain: mainly foodstuffs such as butter and margarine, cheese, sugar, livestock and meat, and other agricultural and horticultural products. The influence of the Wageningen school on the author is evident here.

No single overriding factor governed this British-Dutch trade just as there was no leading sector in the Dutch economy. Instead, the development or decline of each and of all of these trades was governed by a host of interrelated factors such as the general state of the two economies, production costs and costs of substitutes, trends toward free trade or protectionism, structural changes in transport costs and modes of transport, and the ever fascinating seesaw battle of water versus land (railway) transport costs and routes.

The third element is the placing of the British-Dutch trade in an international setting. The most influential factor was, of course, the rapid economic development and industrialization of the western part of Germany, the famous Ruhr district. The sheer force and size of the industrializing area coupled with new forms of capital organization, such as cartels and trusts, could not but diminish Britain's share in Dutch trade.

It is in this third element that the book is weakest. Bos says very little about the effect on communication and transport of the opening of two major sealinks during this period—the Nieuwe Waterweg for Rotterdam and the Noordzee Kanaal for Amsterdam—and how this changed the relative position of the Dutch as transit point for the German hinterland vis-à-vis Antwerp, which had benefited in 1863 from the elimination of the tolls on the Schelde. In this respect, this study would have benefited from Karel Veraghtert's four-volume study, completed in 1977, on the port of Antwerp in the

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nineteenth century. The continuing competition between the Rhine river route from Rotterdam to Cologne and the "Iron Rhine," the Antwerp-Cologne railway route, also warrants more attention for it provided British merchants the choice of two routes for trade with Germany in addition to Hamburg. Having laid the groundwork in this study, the author can develop this third element in greater detail in the future. An index would also have been very helpful.

Overall, the book is a good synthesis of the development of British-Dutch trade relations. Each of the economic factors and each of the major commodities are dealt with objectively and in detail. Typographical errors are almost nonexistent. The supporting tables and graphs are to the point. Bos's book fills a major lacuna in our understanding of British-Dutch trade relations and in our knowledge of the role of the Netherlands in international trade during this period.

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B. A. SIJES *et al. Vervolging van Zigeuners in Nederland, 1940–1945* [The Prosecution of Gypsies in the Netherlands, 1940–1945]. (Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie. Monographs, number 13.) With an English summary. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1979. Pp. 189.

Despite their unpopularity and all the hard times they lived through, gypsies managed to survive and increase in Europe until the twentieth century when the bureaucrats of the brave new world with their uncontrolled hatreds caught up with them at last and very nearly destroyed them. It all began in 1899 when a local gypsy bureau was established in Bavaria; in 1930 it became the Central Coordinating Agency for Controlling Gypsies throughout Germany. Following this trend, the Austrians set up, in 1936, the *Internationale Zentralstelle zur Bekämpfung des Zigeunerunwesens* that, a year later, became a European clearing house for information about gypsies.

In the Netherlands the dislike of gypsies was as strong as anywhere else. Traditionally they were divided into two groups: *zigeuner* (real gypsies) and *reizigers* (Dutchmen who traveled about the country in wagons and who were regarded as gypsies by the general public). In 1907, a royal committee, after studying the problem, declared both groups a social nuisance but found that gypsies especially were "to be feared." Although a tiny minority (fewer than seventy thousand in a population of approximately ten million), the gypsies and *reizigers* faced a great deal of harassment. Local officials denied them work permits and drove them out of their districts, and the royal constabulary frequently chased them across the border into Belgium or Germany. In 1937, the police even set up their own gypsy agency, the *Nederlandse Zigeuner Centrale*, which became the first organization to join the *Internationale Zentralstelle* in Vienna. When the Nazis seized Austria, however, the Dutch not only broke their links with the Austrian agency but also dissolved the *Centrale* as well.

With the German occupation of the Netherlands, the treatment of the country's gypsies changed from harassment to genocide, for the Nazis detested them as much as they did Jews and Slavs. Having shipped off the 20,000 German gypsies to concentration camps, the Nazis next turned to attack the problem throughout their rapidly expanding empire, and mass murders—as many as 170,000—were carried out in Poland and the Soviet Union. Before the Third Reich collapsed in 1945, the Nazis had murdered almost one-third of Europe's 1.5 million gypsies.

For various reasons, Dutch gypsies were not disturbed until spring 1943 when Hans Rauter, head of the SS and German police stationed in the Netherlands, appropriated their horses and handed them over to the *Wehrmacht* or to Dutch farmers. Rauter's intention was to send all gypsies to labor camps, but he moved too slowly and the bulk of the *zigeuner* and *reizigers*, apprehensive as to what might come, abandoned their caravans and melted into the local population. When, a year later, the occupation authorities eventually got around to arresting gypsies, they were able to seize only 305, of whom 245 were sent to Auschwitz. Of this number, 107 were put into forced labor battalions and the rest were murdered. Of the 107, B. A. Sijes tells us that as far as he was able to ascertain the fourteen men and sixteen women who returned to the Netherlands after the war were the only survivors of the Dutch contingent.

Vervolging van Zigeuners presents important insights into the ways in which Dutch officials responded to the directives of the German occupation authorities. Although there were attempts by a few individuals in the *Rijksidentificatiedienst* to destroy files, Sijes does not try to hide the fact that most bureaucrats followed the Nazi lead in ridding the Netherlands of gypsies. When the Germans proceeded in earnest against them in spring and summer 1944, Dutch policemen and SS members did much of the actual rounding up and saw to it that the victims were taken to the transfer camp at Westerbork prior to being shipped to the *Zigeunerlager* in Auschwitz.

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G. R. ZONDERGELD. *De Friese Beweging in het tijdvak der Beide Wereldoorlogen* [The Frisian Movement in the Period of the Two World Wars]. Leeuwarden: De Tille. 1978. Pp. 570. f 49.50.

This book deals with the Frisian movement in the Netherlands only, even though the few hundred thousand people who speak Frisian live in both the northeastern Netherlands and northwestern Germany. In the early nineteenth centruy, the Frisian movement, like other offshoots of the Romantic rediscovery of the past such as the Flemish movement, concerned itself primarily with regional language, culture, and history. G. R. Zondergeld shows in his first chapter that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, some members of the Frisian movement had begun to advocate the establishment of a Greater Frisia to include both Dutch and German territories inhabited by Frisians. This more radical emphasis did not prevail for long, and, for the balance of the period before the First World War, the movement was primarily concerned with language, literature, and history and with the demands for the use of the Frisian language in schools, church, and the courts.

The remainder of the book deals with the development of the Frisian movement after the outbreak of the First World War. The war brought about a radicalization of the movement and a revival of the nationalism of the mid-nineteenth century. A new organization, the *Jongfryske Mienskip* (Young-Frisian Association) founded in 1915 by Douwe Kalma, dominated the Frisian movement for the next ten years. In the 1930s, many members of the movement, including Kalma, became Fascist sympathizers. Now common racial ties rather than language and culture were emphasized.

During the German occupation a large number of Frisian nationalists were willing to collaborate with the Germans, particularly in 1940 and 1941 when German victory seemed a foregone conclusion. The SS office *Ahnenerbe* displayed a special interest in Frisia and dispatched to the country a number of German specialists. In Frisia, as in Flanders, however, disillusionment set in soon when it became apparent that the Germans intended to manipulate the movement in preparation for eventual incorporation into the Greater Germanic Reich.

In a concluding section the author discusses the postwar trials of Frisian collaborators, most of whom were let off with light sentences. The movement itself achieved its greatest successes in the period after the war when Frisian was increasingly used in education and public life.

The author views the Frisian movement with sympathetic eyes and provides us with a great deal of new information on a little-known regional movement. As is the case with many doctoral dissertations, the reader may find an excess of detail and some lack of integration. It may be that the deep and continuing divisions within the Frisian movement make a more integrated treatment particularly difficult. On the other hand, the author attempts to place the Frisian movement in a wider historical context. The main usefulness of the book for the American scholar may indeed lie in its comparative perspectives.

The reader not familiar with Dutch may wish to make use of a short summary written in German. Frisian passages in the text are translated into Dutch in an appendix.

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JOHS. NIELSEN. *Genrejsningshåb og undergangsangst: Dansk forsvarspolitik mellem 1864 og 1870 og folkestyrets første forsvarsordning* [The Hope for Recovery and the Fear of Destruction: Danish Defense Policy between 1864 and 1870 and the Democracy's First Defense System]. (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, number 60.) Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag. 1979. Pp. 191. 50.00 KR.

After Prussia and Austria defeated Denmark in 1864 and Denmark lost Schleswig-Holstein, many Danes were concerned that their country could not continue to exist as an independent state. The small country had few natural barriers against invasion and no defense treaties with other nations. When a commission was established after the war to draw up plans for Denmark's defense, it was faced with many complicated problems.

Johs. Nielsen's book covers the work of the commission and the legislation that resulted. He first draws a broad outline of the international and domestic political situation. As the author proceeds to discuss advances in military technology, he demonstrates competence in this area; he also examines in considerable detail the literature on military strategy read by Danish officers at the time. This solid foundation for the discussion makes it fairly easy for the reader to follow the various arguments concerning the purpose, nature, and size of the Danish army and navy.

In spite of Denmark's recent territorial losses, the author seems to be overstating his case when he writes about "a fear," on the part of Danish political leaders, "for the decline and disappearance of the country, which was stronger than ever before or since in our history" (p. 134). Certainly Denmark has been closer to total disappearance at other times, such as the period 1332–40, when the coun-

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try was under North German domination, and the years under German occupation in World War II. Brief comparisons between the strategic and political questions considered in the late 1860s and the situation during the First World War, when Denmark was able to remain neutral, as well as the events of 1940, when Germany invaded Denmark, would have been interesting.

Although Nielsen deals with an important topic, his style of writing detracts from the value of the book. He is not a skilled writer, and improvements could easily have been made. Using numerous short paragraphs, many of them only a topic sentence, his writing lacks grace and coherence. He also has a tendency to summarize sources without adequately incorporating the material into the narrative flow. Moreover, a number of instances can be found where footnotes are needed.

Nielsen, notwithstanding his style, has produced a competent work. He has clearly done considerable research, he concentrates on important facts, and he avoids unnecessary detail. At the end of the book he has appended a number of relevant documents that illuminate the issues, and there is also an index of persons mentioned. This book is important for anyone interested in Danish military history.

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BENT JENSEN. *Danmark og det russiske spørgsmål, 1917–1924: Dansk Ruslandspolitik fra bolsjevikkernes magterobring til anerkendelsen af det bolsjevikkiske regime de jur* [Denmark and the Russian Question, 1917–24: Danish Russian Policy from the Bolshevik Seizure of Power until the De Jure Recognition of the Bolshevik Regime]. (Jysk Selskab for Historie, number 34.) Summary in English. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1979. Pp. 600.

This Danish doctoral dissertation, replete with footnotes to primary sources and contemporary material, is the first to discuss the policies and reactions in Denmark to the Russian Revolution. The period covered is from the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the *de jure* recognition of the Bolshevik regime by Denmark in 1924. As such it fills a gap with scholarly thoroughness.

The central question is the identification and evaluation of the external and internal forces in Denmark that were most decisive in the development of the official policy culminating in 1924 in recognition. Bent Jensen's premise is that "the foreign relations of a state grow out of is internal conditions and in turn react on those conditions."

Prior to World War I Danish businessmen, as well as others, had invested heavily in the Russian economy, and it was their expectations of a Soviet collapse and their fantasies of a continued postwar economic colonialism that shaped Danish policy toward the Bolshevik regime. The impending Slesvig plebiscite (whether to return to Denmark after being seized by Bismarck in 1864) conditioned Denmark to dependence on the victorious Allies, which influenced its attitude toward the Bolsheviks. As the Allies shifted between 1917 and 1924, so also the Danes wavered, paralleling the British. While the Allies were primarily busy with winning the war between the October 1917 Revolution and the German Revolution of 1918, Denmark as a neutral was free to recognize the Bolshevik regime *de facto* and did. With the war over, the Allies turned their attention against the Soviets, and Denmark was forced to cut off its ties with the Bolsheviks. As the Allies, and especially Great Britain, inched toward recognition, so also did Denmark. This sequence had led Soviet historians to conclude that Allied positions determined Danish policies and that Denmark would, if freed from Allied apron strings, have established normal relations much earlier. Jensen maintains, however, that Soviet historians have the cart before the horse, and, to paraphrase Karl Radek, that internal aspects of Danish society made it natural for Danish policies to conform to those of the Western great powers (p. 25).

In the author's opinion, the "Third Chamber," composed of influential industrialists and financiers, played a more significant role than the Danish Rigsdag or its parliamentary majority in attaining foreign policy goals. Danes were generally agreed that the main objective of foreign policy was to support Danish economic interests; moral and ideological standards were secondary. Therefore, not even the swing in parliamentary majorities in 1920 to a more conservative and agrarian viewpoint hindered the trend toward recognition of the Soviet government. The leading member of the "Third Chamber" was H. N. Andersen, managing director of the East Asiatic Company. With his own protégé as foreign minister, Andersen's influence grew, and he brought the king to wield his power to break off the negotiation of a trade agreement with Russia when the terms were not to his liking. Yet, a year later Andersen reversed his decision when the economic interests of the East Asiatic Company demanded it, and negotiations were resumed.

The Rigsdag received a minimum of information on the negotiations, regardless of which government was in power. The press gave wide coverage daily to the Russian question. The Foreign Ministry served only as intermediary among the Russian lobby and the Western powers and Soviet Russia, primarily aiding Danish trade interest and the businessmen. The royal family played apparently only a marginal role, but, since their archives have not been opened to the author, their importance is hard to

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evaluate. The Russian lobby was the 2,200 Danish creditors, most of whom had lived in Russia, but their reparations claims were subservient to the national wish to re-establish economic relations with Russia.

Despite the agreement in 1924, the dominant forces in Denmark still believed that the *de jure* recognition would be only temporary and that the Bolsheviks soon would fall.

The thirteen-page English summary gives a good overview for the non-Danish reader.

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SVEND ELLEHØJ *et al.*, editors. *Københavns Universitet, 1479–1979.* [Copenhagen University, 1479–1979]. Volume 7, *Det lægevidenskabelige Fakultet* [The Medical Faculty]. Edited by JOHANNES C. MELCHIOR *et al.* Copenhagen: Københavns Universitet. 1979. Pp. xi, 519. 260 KR.

This history of the medical faculty in the University of Copenhagen is the first of a projected fourteen volumes to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of the university's founding. The overall purpose of this series is multifaceted and ambitious: to delineate the seminal influences on the evolution of the university's approaches and priorities in both teaching and research, to clarify the university's changing functions in Danish academic and social life since 1479, and to place the university's activities in an international perspective. More than one hundred contributors are engaged in this enterprising scholarly venture, almost half of them involved in compiling a history of the medical faculty. This seventh volume in the series has one virtue—a wide range of perspectives on a tumultuous period in the history of Danish medicine. But this virtue is overshadowed by the substantive unevenness of the contributions, the absence of a unifying point of view in the collection, and the editors' unwillingness to impose stylistic uniformity on the work as a whole. The result is a compendium of information rather than interpretative history.

The lead article by Vilhelm Møller-Christensen and Albert Gjedde is the brightest gem in this *jubilæums* gift. If the overview of medical theory and practice from the late Middle Ages to 1842 is rather conventional, they integrate a perceptive discussion of the University of Copenhagen's changing function as a medical educational institution. Occasionally, the authors do exhibit teleological assumptions about the march of scientific medicine, but in general they remain sensitive to the pluralistic nature of medical practice in this period. In addition, references to both primary and secondary sources are extensive. There are troublesome problems, however, in this article. There is no explicit thesis, and the article often degenerates into cameo sketches of selected medical figures and their international contacts. Nor is there an analysis of the interaction between healers and social groups in Denmark over time—one of the cardinal objectives of the series as a whole.

Subsequent articles in the volume, covering developments in general medical education since 1842 and the emergence of medical specialties, also provide some information of interest but little analysis. Only the article on "Internal Medicine" has a tentative, interpretative stance on the names and events it covers in copious detail; as such, it is the volume's only historical assessment of a medical specialty in the Danish context. Medical history as a distinctive discipline is covered in a scant four pages, a disquieting but hardly surprising indication of the state of the field in Denmark, given this volume's deficiencies. Nor is there an integrative conclusion—the book tapers off with brief selections of data on student enrollments, numbers of doctorates awarded, and a name index.

Thus, this volume on the history of the medical faculty in the University of Copenhagen is a disappointment. Its usefulness as a reference work is limited by a predilection for writing "court history" rather than historical analysis. Nevertheless, one should remain open-minded about subsequent volumes in the series; the absence of editorial control that made this book so unwieldy may well result in creative interpretations by smaller groups of contributors who are studying the university's work in other disciplines.

PETER VINTEN-JOHANSEN
Michigan State University

TOMAS LIDMAN. *Adlig partipolitik vid 1800-talets mitt* [Party Politics in the House of Nobility in the 1850s]. (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in History, number 24.) Summary in English. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International. 1979. Pp. 190. 66.50 KR.

Douglas V. Verney, in his book *Parliamentary Reform in Sweden, 1866–1921* (1957), states, in referring to the politics of the four-chamber parliament from 1809 to 1866, that "the nobles were content to remain unorganized and leaderless and to be attached to coteries rather than to become members of parties" (p. 26). Thanks to the discovery of new material, the above assessment will no longer hold. Tomas Lidman shows that there was a political party in the House of the Nobility during the 1850s.

This study is one of a series of research projects to throw more light on the "Party systems in the Swedish Riksdag, 1847–1866" (p. 173) just prior to

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abolition of the four-chamber parliament in favor of two in 1865–66. Since the House of the Nobility, along with the clergy, was overwhelmingly conservative, the party under consideration here is of interest because it was a moderate-liberal opposition group. They supported King Oscar I (Bernadotte's son) in his social and economic reforms and opposed his politically conservative measures such as press censorship. As a matter of fact, during the four parliamentary sessions analyzed here (1847–57) "the strength and activity of the nobility's moderate-liberal opposition was to a high degree dependent on King Oscar's politics" (p. 157). He needed liberal support during the revolutionary upheavals of 1848 and appointed one of their members, J. A. Gripenstedt, to his cabinet. During the next two parliaments, they were virtually powerless in getting nominees elected to key committees in the nobles' chamber. When most of Oscar's adventurous foreign policies during the Crimean War came to nothing, he again needed the liberal noblemen to help promote his new pan-Scandinavian politics.

What began as "The Society of the Eleven" in 1848 evolved into "The Society of the Landed Nobility" by 1857 with a set of bylaws. The original founders were leaders throughout the period and were drawn primarily from those aristocrats engaged in business and with substantial political experience in contrast to those who were primarily civil servants and military men. Although these moderately liberal nobles could never control a majority in their chamber, they most assuredly did form a political party, and it was not without influence during the decade. Correspondence to one of the members, C. A. Mannerskantz, made the study possible. An interesting sidelight in these letters gives support, if not proof, to the suspicion that the king was planning a coup d'état during the Crimean War. Lidman has done a fine piece of research. There is a good summary in English.

PLAYFORD V. THORSON
University of North Dakota

MATS ROLÉN. *Skogsbygd i omvandling: Studier kring befolkningsutveckling, omflyttning och social rörlighet i Revsunds tingslag, 1820–1977* [A Forest Community in Transition: Studies in Population Development, Migration and Social Change in Revsund, 1820–1977]. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, number 107.) Summary in English. Uppsala: Uppsala University; distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm. 1979. Pp. 301. 95 KR.

In the early 1960s, the American history section at the University of Uppsala established a group research project, "Sweden and America after 1860," in which individual scholars concentrated on various aspects of Swedish emigration and immigration to North America. The result of this project was a significant number of publications by graduate students and established scholars that significantly expanded understanding of population mobility in modern Sweden. Out of this project a second has grown, "The Family in the Swedish Demographic and Social Transformations after 1800," which should add even more to the scholarship on a central period in Swedish history. Mats Rolén's *Skogsbygd i omvandling* was begun under the first of these group projects and completed under the second. Its content spans both.

Rolén's approach is microhistorical and quantitative. He concentrates upon a four-parish district, Revsund, in east central Jämtland in northern Sweden during the years between 1820 and 1977. He divides this span of time into four subperiods: 1820–49, 1850–74, 1875–1919, and 1920–77, each of which may be defined by a set of economic conditions. During the first period, Revsund was an isolated, agricultural area experiencing the "demographic revolution" that resulted in the establishment of new farmsteads and the splitting of older holdings to absorb the population increases. In this first period, however, the area did not undergo any fundamental changes in the nature of its social-economic structure. During the second period, the steam-driven saw was introduced and the timber industry expanded into the area, bringing with it new ways to earn a living, stimulating new landownership patterns, and generating greater social and geographic mobility. In the third period, the railroad came to the district, which led to a further expansion of the timber industry and commensurately extensive changes in social, economic, and geographic mobility. In the final period, the timber industry entered a phase of decline, which resulted in a decline in the district's population, significant shifts in the demographic structure of the area, and marked changes in the patterns of mobility.

Using the vast statistical and demographic sources available in Sweden, Rolén raises questions about demographic change, geographic mobility (internal migration, in- and out-migration within Sweden, and emigration), landownership, and social-economic mobility. Although he asks similar questions for each of the periods covered, he concentrates on special problems in each. For example, his primary concern in his analysis of the 1875–1919 period is with the geographic and social mobility of those individuals who sold their lands to sawmilling companies and with the children of those individuals. The results of this research are presented in seven readable chapters. In each, the problems are carefully defined, the available literature surveyed,

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the sources and methods outlined, and the conclusions carefully derived from the data. Numerous tables, graphs, and maps are included. There are extensive footnotes and an encyclopedic bibliography. An English summary is included.

This dissertation-monograph constitutes a significant contribution to the efforts of the Uppsala group and should serve as a useful model for others. In addition, the work must be seen as important because Rolén successfully dispels a number of commonly accepted generalizations made in earlier macro- and microstudies of the same problems in Sweden. He clearly and repeatedly reminds us of the difficulties inherent in making generalizations based upon too large or too small a piece of the past.

BYRON J. NORDSTROM
Gustavus Adolphus College

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN. *In Time of Storm: Revolution, Civil War, and the Ethnolinguistic Issue in Finland.* Albany: State University of New York Press. 1979. Pp. xvii, 172. $40.00.

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN. *Luokka ja kieli vallankumouksen Suomessa* [Class and Language during the Revolution in Finland]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 107). Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1978. Pp. 137.

Although first published in the United States, Pekka Kalevi Hamalainen's work is clearly in the Finnish nationalist tradition. Consequently, it underscores the theme that Finnish independence was legally obtained and that the Finnish state was really the legitimate successor to the sovereign power of the tsars. In Finland, the immediate response to *In Time of Storm* has been to publish a faithful translation of it as *Luokka ja kieli vallankumouksen Suomessa.*

Hamalainen's study focuses on the Finnish Civil War (January–May 1918). Through his exhaustive analysis of contemporary records, he tries to measure the extent of the antagonism existing between Finland's Swedish speakers and the Finnish-speaking majority to determine how this tension affected the conduct and outcome of the war. Among the most significant of his findings are these: Finnish speakers made up the majority of both White and Red armies, but only the officer corps of the latter favored them; and the Red and White reigns of terror were precipitated by revenge rather than by "racial" hatreds. In sum, the author concludes that the ethnolinguistic issue was avoided by both sides—by the Reds who espoused an internationalistic ideology and by the Whites who feared that their coalition of forces would be shattered by the raising of such an issue. Thereby, Hamalainen has sought to defuse this still explosive issue from the Finnish past and to put it into the "eye" of the storm.

In doing so, however, he has taken certain liberties with the historical process leading to the war. For example, Hamalainen states that until 1917 the population of Helsinki was unused to revolutionary violence. This ignores its experience with the Sveaborg mutiny in 1906. Also forgotten is the fact that Finnish activists in the early 1900s included violence in their program of resistance against the legal (tsarist) government in Finland. Also, these very activists were often recruited into the so-called bourgeois White Guard during the Revolution of 1905, then into the Finnish *Jäger* movement to fight in the German forces during World War I, and finally into a private White Guard. The latter then became the "national" army of independent Finland at the behest of a "nationalist" government whose incumbency depended as much on force as on due process. In other words, conspiracy and terror had become so much a part of the arsenal of both rightist and leftist factions by the outbreak of the civil war that legitimacy had ceased to exist and all decisions were ultimately based on force.

Apart from that, Hamalainen's major weakness is that he never defines the central concept of his thesis, the "social revolution" or *yhteiskunnallinen vallankumous* that ignited the civil war. Other authorities in the field have not used so comprehensive a term to describe the Red seizure of power. Coup d'état and "political revolution" or *vallankumous* provide the range of expression normally encountered. Although the threat of social revolution was implicit in the social philosophy of the Reds, its commission has yet to be proven.

For all that, Hamalainen's work is recommended for specialists in modern Finnish history. Since the English version claims to have been the first in print and also boasts an index, it should be the preferred text.

EDWARD W. LAINE
Public Archives of Canada

HANS-JOACHIM KRASCHEWSKI. *Wirtschaftspolitik im deutschen Territorialstaat des 16. Jahrhunderts: Herzog Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1528–1589).* (Neue Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 15.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1978. Pp. 207. DM 40.

Aristocrats who had a role in the development of capitalism are no longer a surprise, and Duke Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (ruled 1568–89) has a reputation only slightly behind Gustavus Vasa's as a Reformation-era ruler who fits Joseph A. Schumpeter's concept of an "entrepreneur" making

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innovative economic decisions. Hans-Joachim Kraschewski, in this slim volume with the look of a reworked dissertation, has produced a valuable and well-researched catalogue of Julius's economic actions, which shows that they were indeed quite "rational" and progressive. Unfortunately, the author intended to determine the impact such a "businessman-prince" could have on the state through his policies—the stimulation of growth and the formation of its economic order as well as the use of economic trends for the promotion of princely interests. A valiant effort, however, cannot surmount the evidence. As Kraschewski knew at the outset, the data one needs to judge growth in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel have not been compiled and largely do not exist, and Julius's policies did not come from a theoretical perspective.

Kraschewski does whet our appetite for a full, modern biography. For example, he hints at a psychological dimension in the bitter relations between Duke Henry (ruled 1514–68), champion of Habsburg Catholicism in the north, and his crippled son Julius who eventually made the duchy Lutheran. But what the reader misses most here is a political context. We learn how Julius reorganized the ducal administration and chose trained financiers for major offices, how he improved roads and waterways, how his ordinances opened up the market to more competition, how he drove hard bargains in his contracts with merchants, and, above all, how he always had some new scheme for economic development, from cutting more mines in the Harz to the latest technologies for smelting, from opening up additional salt sources to improved forest management.

But the conclusion Kraschewski offers, that Julius had a rational policy for his principality that integrated agriculture, mining, and manufacturing into one economy oriented toward profit and growth, is not the only possibility. Julius was clearly at his best when a new action "for the public good" also increased his own treasury, as in mining and smelting, which yielded 42 percent of his income. Like other centralizing rulers of the sixteenth century, Julius may simply have seen that full coffers produced greater power for himself: power to recover jurisdictions pawned by his father, build effective ducal administration, and free him from compromising with the "estates" of towns and knights. Hans-Joachim Kraschewski has given us a better sense of Julius's impact on the economy of his duchy, but he should not claim to have measured that impact; he also presents us with an entrepreneur-economist when Julius may have been just an innovative politician who knew the value of a thaler.

RHIMAN A. ROTZ
Indiana University Northwest

JÜRGEN VOSS. *Universität, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diplomatie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Johann Daniel Schöpflin (1694–1771)*. (Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Instituts der Universität Mannheim, number 4.) Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag. 1979. Pp. 401. DM 98.

The career of Johann Daniel Schöpflin—professor, historian, and sometime diplomat—provides a fascinating glimpse into the intellectual world of Europe in general and the Upper Rhineland in particular during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. The son of a lower-level bureaucrat in Baden, he was first educated at a humanistic elementary school and then at the University of Basel but transferred to Strasbourg when his father received a rural ecclesiastical post in Alsace. At Strasbourg he began in theology but soon returned to the historical studies that had interested him in Basel, where he also pursued the mathematical studies that influenced his later historical work (in particular the *Alsatia Illustrata*, which is also on a pattern that Biondo made popular). Meanwhile, Schöpflin came into contact with some of the leading figures of European intellectual life, including Voltaire (whose *Annales de l'Empire* he helped see through his brother's press), and many of the famous academies of the time. He was named *Historiographe de Roy* by Louis XV, founded and led an as yet somewhat informal academy for the training of diplomats on the model recommended by Torcy, and successfully prosecuted a struggle against the rapacious royal official, Klinglin, to say nothing of carrying out diplomatic missions (on a lower order) for Versailles in England and in the Upper Rhenish region. Schöpflin remains a fascinating figure indeed, and perhaps for history professors in particular.

And yet, in terms of the development of historical scholarship, Schöpflin was in many respects passé, as is this book about him. His own student, J. J. Oberlin, criticized him for being too little in the avant-garde of critical history as produced by the late Enlightenment because Schöpflin continued to hold many of the presuppositions of late humanism. His dealings as a diplomat could never come to the center stage of European history, if only because he was not of noble birth. And his historical scholarship, though still consulted by scholars of the troubled Alsatian region, has never entered general historiography, because its vision was neither the method of Göttingen nor the philosophy of Voltaire. Even as a university administrator, his work amounted to timeserving, because defending the independence of the urban, Lutheran, Strasbourg University became somehow irrelevant not long after Schöpflin's death in 1771. Even the argument of the book, that his career illustrates the world of the specifically German Enlightenment, founders on

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the fact that Strasbourg was administered by France, Schöpflin's own intellectual connections were closest to France (and England), and his works were written for the most part in Latin. That he knew German historians and the scholars at Göttingen seems by contrast to be beside the point.

Finally, like Schöpflin the scholar, Jürgen Voss commits the empiricist fallacy again and again. To know all the detail is not to know the person or his significance. It is impossible to select important segments of the book, because all are smothered in detail. It is equally impossible to determine, without doing the research all over again, whether Schöpflin in fact mirrored the Enlightenment, the baroque, or was simply the last product of Renaissance humanism in the school of Johann Sturm.

JAMES M. KITTELSON
Ohio State University

BARTHOLD C. WITTE. *Der preussische Tacitus: Aufstieg, Ruhm und Ende des Historikers Barthold Georg Niebuhr, 1776–1831.* Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1979. Pp. 223. DM 39.

This is a highly readable, if somewhat wide-eyed and breathless work of old-fashioned biography, complete with family trees, graveside perorations, and a series of *anni mirabiles*. The author (Niebuhr's great-great-grandson) has set out to write the first comprehensive study of his subject in over a century, hoping to show that Niebuhr's life was "exemplary" of larger sociopolitical currents and that his historical writing was pioneering, even "revolutionary" in impact. The title of the work is confirmed by the contents: like a latter-day Tacitus in reverse, Niebuhr held up ancient Rome as a distant mirror to his own adoptive land of Prussia in the midst of its time of troubles and internal reconstitution.

Throughout, Barthold C. Witte emphasizes Niebuhr's chronic, almost congenital "in-between" position: beginning with his dual Danish-Prussian middle-class background, continuing by way of the constant tug between political activity and scholarly endeavor (as well as vacillation among factions of the Prussian reform movement), and ending with the ebb and flow of his posthumous reputation. The message seems to be that in rejecting the political extremes of both feudal reaction and revolutionary republicanism, Niebuhr and his ilk were unable to find a stable and tenable stance, except in the realm of scholarship, where one could make a world that made sense.

The author strives mightily to rehabilitate Niebuhr from the cumulative effects of prior selective editing, which made him out to be a dogged conservative *plus royaliste que le roi*; despite the effort, his history continues to seem vastly more "modern" than his politics. Niebuhr's often-quoted observation that "liberty rests more on administration than on constitution" epitomized German middle-class faith in bureaucratic authority and hostility to popular political participation—twin ingredients in what Witte sums up as the "Prussian tragedy." Niebuhr's specific role in the Prussian reform is treated thoroughly and clearly, although a somewhat sharper delineation of the differences between Stein and Hardenberg would have been welcome. During the campaigns against Napoleon, Niebuhr's financial acumen proved indispensable in stabilizing the Prussian currency and raising loans from Great Britain and the Netherlands. These largely forgotten efforts contrasted starkly with the sad spectacle of infighting and mutual suspicion that sapped and finally killed the reform.

In contrast to his unheralded and ephemeral attempts to sway history, Niebuhr's three-volume *Römische Geschichte* (1811–32) set the standard for all future historical writing in its application of critical-philological method to the task of evaluating sources. Ranke constantly acknowledged Niebuhr as his "mentor and master"; Mommsen said much the same, even after two intervening generations of master-historians. Despite the adoption of Herder's fanciful ballad theory and an irrepressible urge for freewheeling analogies (Caesar Augustus stands to the Graachi as Napoleon to the Jacobins), Niebuhr brought source criticism to the point where, as Goethe put it, the difference between *Dichtung* and historical *Wahrheit* had become evident and ascertainable.

Throughout this study the reader butts against the central question of Niebuhr's "divided personality," which cast a warm glow over the distant past and a gloomy pall over the present and future. Witte edges toward but then steers wide of any psychohistorical judgments. Niebuhr was often peevish, mean spirited, and sodden with dark foreboding to the point of comedy: thus, this "professional Cassandra" once took the burning of his new house as a portent of the demise of European civilization! History became for Niebuhr a kind of consolatory second-hand world, the concomitant of his resigned "no" to the world he saw emerging around him. One is reminded of Nietzsche's warning that the historian begins by looking backward and ends by living backward.

Apart from several annoying elliptical references to letters not quoted in sufficient detail, this work is carefully documented and contains a comprehensive bibliography.

MICHAEL ERMARTH
Dartmouth College

SIGRID WEIGEL. *Flugschriftenliteratur 1848 in Berlin: Geschichte und Öffentlichkeit einer volkstümlichen Gattung.*

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Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1979. Pp. ix, 253. DM 39.

GUSTAV OTRUBA. *Wiener Flugschriften zur Sozialen Frage 1848: I. Arbeiterschaft, Handwerk und Handel.* (Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Materialen zur Arbeiterbewegung, number 9.) Vienna: Europaverlag. 1978. Pp. lvi, 245.

Pamphlets were a major feature of the revolutions of 1848. The ending of censorship in Germany led to an explosion in pamphlet and other popular literature. Historians have mainly used this material in the investigation of particular events or groups. These two publications are concerned with pamphlets in their own right.

Sigrid Weigel has analyzed about three hundred pamphlets from some two thousand of those produced in Berlin in 1848. She considers the central ideas of these pamphlets, the various forms and styles employed, and the relationship between production and readership. She places this analysis within a more general framework.

The strength of the book is in the detailed analysis of form and content. The meanings assigned to words such as "Volk" or "Demokratie" are crucial to any understanding of 1848. The variety of forms (such as polemic, documentation, fantasy, dialogue, catechism) and of styles (such as dialect, pathos, irony, anger) all indicate the richness of the pamphlet literature. These are acutely analyzed and linked to a variety of political contexts and purposes.

Weigel also distinguishes between pamphlets where there is a commercial relationship between author and reader and those where a more direct relationship is established. This is part of a larger argument that distinguishes between "bourgeois public opinion" and "popular public opinion." The pamphlet, especially the noncommerical type, signifies a move toward popular public opinion. This tendency is weakened by the mixed social basis of the popular movement, which also accounts for the abstract and often purely verbal nature of radicalism.

This social basis, however, is never independently established or even clearly defined. Weigel's sample seems to overrepresent pamphlets concerned with democracy in general. The argument, in my view, ascribes a social explanation to events that are more effectively accounted for in political terms, such as the lack of time in which to educate public opinion and the very open and uncertain character of a revolutionary situation. Finally, the argument is related to an idea that the development of the proletariat provides the basis on which a true alternative to "bourgeois public opinion" can develop. Unless one shares this radical stance, the basic framework is unconvincing.

Gustav Otruba's book consists principally of a catalogue of 892 pamphlets produced in Vienna in 1848 and concerned with workers, craftsmen, and merchants. A planned second volume will catalogue pamphlets concerned with other social groups. The catalogue is exhaustive and is backed up with an index of persons and occupations. Each entry provides details, if available, on title, author, addressee, date, contents, and location. Some 125 of the pamphlets are reproduced in their original form. A brief introduction provides an archival and bibliographical guide, an account of the operation of censorship, and an analysis of major concerns and trends within the material. The major value of this book is as an aid to research into the revolution in Vienna. In this respect it is difficult to ask for more than Otruba has provided.

Certain of the points in his introduction and revealed in a cursory reading of the pamphlet catalogue are of particular interest in the light of some of Weigel's arguments. First, the pamphlets point to a wide diversity, even conflict, within popular public opinion. Second, pamphlets do not represent in any direct way the interests or actions of particular social groups. Few pamphlets deal with workers in March 1848, although workers were instrumental in bringing down Metternich. Most pamphlets dealing with laborers employed on public work projects were written by outsiders and were stimulated primarily by the disturbances involving these workers in the period from July to August. Obviously the fact that most pamphlets were written by outsiders does not mean that many of them did not accurately represent the views of the groups to which they referred. But this requires explicit demonstration. Otherwise many of the pamphlets can be seen as attempts by elements of the intelligentsia to control various social groups in a revolutionary situation. Such an understanding is very different from that presented by Weigel.

JOHN BREUILLY
University of Manchester

HANS-GEORG KRAUME. *Aussenpolitik 1848: Die holländische Provinz Limburg in der deutschen Revolution.* Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1979. Pp. 298. DM 39.

A detailed treatment of the Limburg question in the 1848 revolutions has been long overdue. Although the Limburg question never assumed the crisis proportions of the Schleswig-Holstein conflict, it did provide an interesting example of a foreign relations exercise for the Frankfurt Parliament and the German Provisional Central Power. Hans-Georg Kraume examines in detail the activities of the leading Limburg member in the Frankfurt Parliament, Baron van Scherpenzeel-Heusch. For the 1848–49 period Kraume uses materials gleaned

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from the impressive files of the Frankfurt branch of the German Federal Archives. He is thus well versed in the activities of the German parliament and provisional government.

Kraume skillfully traces the relationship between the Dutch province of Limburg and the German Confederation established after the creation of Belgian independence. There was strong dissatisfaction in the Dutch province of Limburg with the lack of interest the Netherlands authorities had shown the territory. Participation in the Netherlands national debt, for which the population of Limburg felt little responsibility, was particularly resented. Following the southern uprising against Netherlands rule, sentiment in the province ran high for union with Belgium. For Scherpenzeel, collaboration with the Germans was merely a second best choice since an arrangement with Belgium was not feasible at the time. Most of the Dutch province of Limburg had a dual position, forming part of the Netherlands and part of the German Confederation. In the summer of 1848 it suited Scherpenzeel to emphasize the German over the Dutch connection. This appeared to offer a way of escaping payment of the Netherlands debt. For the predominantly Roman Catholic Limburg, there at first seemed a chance of developing closer ties with the economically important Rhineland and with Austria. The author emphasizes Scherpenzeel's strong contacts, particularly with the left center, in the Frankfurt Parliament. Scherpenzeel from the beginning adopted an uncompromising attitude and showed clearly that his main interest was in freeing his province from the Dutch national debt. He could not even speak German properly. Some members of the Frankfurt Parliament, however, were gullible enough to see in the movement in Limburg support for German frontiers reaching beyond the clearly German-language boundaries. In spite of the inconsistencies in the German case, which nothing brings out more clearly than Scherpenzeel's eventual break with the Frankfurt Parliament when it no longer served his purpose, the Netherlands government took the whole matter very seriously and even considered writing off the province.

The author gives new insights into the complex negotiations between the Netherlands and the German Provisional Central Power and throws light on the discussions going on within the Netherlands government. The connection between foreign policy and the domestic aspects of German unification is also well brought out. Some repetition and overlapping could have been prevented by a different arrangement of the material, and the reader would have been helped considerably by the inclusion of a map.

FRANK EYCK
University of Calgary

HELMUT SYDOW. *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Belgien und dem Zollverein, 1830–1885: Vertragspolitik und Warentausch.* In two volumes. (Dissertationen zur Neueren Geschichte, number 4.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1979. Pp. 424; 181. DM 128.

OTTO-ERNST KRAWEHL. *Hamburgs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr mit England und den englischen Kolonien, 1814–1860.* Summary in English. (Forschungen zur Internationalen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 11.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1977. Pp. 536. DM 58.

Both works, recent dissertations, deal primarily with north German economic relations with Belgium and Britain, respectively, during the Zollverein era. Both studies are divided into two parts, a general section and a specific account of the actual trade relations. Relying on Belgian and German archives, Helmut Sydow provides a competent presentation of Belgian-Prussian (and Zollverein) trade negotiations, including pertinent developments in French, Dutch, and British economic policy. Otto-Ernst Krawehl describes the development of British navigation and trade regulations during this period, discusses British reports on the Zollverein, and provides a background on Prussian tariff policy and general conditions in Germany, including a rather simplistic summary of List's agitation and the abolition of Prussian import prohibitions. He does not go into Hamburg-British official relations but provides a detailed account of shipping between the United Kingdom and Germany, while Sydow devotes a chapter to the building of the Antwerp-Cologne railroad, which was to become the chief nexus for Belgium's trade relations with the Rhineland.

In the absence of responsive Zollverein or other German foreign trade statistics for this period, both authors wrote a detailed analysis largely on the basis of Belgian and British records, respectively. While Sydow focuses on Belgian-Prussian (and Zollverein) relations and thus manages to contain his problems and results within the framework of his topic, Krawehl, by neither limiting himself to British-Hamburg trade nor by staking his geographical confines clearly, presents a rather amorphous account of the flow of goods between Britain and north Germany, that is, the Prussian, Hanseatic, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Hanover ports. Although Hamburg was the most important of these ports and although Krawehl traces much of the trade into the Prussian hinterland and beyond, he fails to come up with an analysis of the overall trends of Prussian (or Zollverein) trade for this period, especially as they relate to German industrial development.

Both works, especially that by Krawehl, demonstrate the difficulties one encounters in evaluating Germany's international trade before 1871, a prob-

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lem caused by the absence of good German statistics. This fact alone should be indicative of the low priority economic development (as distinguished from fiscal concerns) was assigned in the framework of Prussian foreign policy objectives. While Belgium conducted its relations with its neighbors by fully integrating economic and political facets, Prussia, in trying first of all to preserve the political status quo, was less effective in its foreign trade negotiations, which also had to be undertaken with the general support of the other Zollverein states. In particular, Prussia took so little initiative to represent Rhenish industrial interests, which retained close, traditional ties with Belgium, that Sydow concludes that these interests found a better spokesman in the Belgian government. Both studies, by bringing out in detail the continued role of the traditional economic forces and institutions during this period, provide a startling view of preindustrial patterns and tempos.

ARNOLD H. PRICE
Washington, D.C.

VOLKER HENTSCHEL. *Wirtschaft und Wirtschaftspolitik im wilhelminischen Deutschland: Organisierter Kapitalismus und Interventionsstaat?* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1978. Pp. 303. DM 72.

This book divides naturally into two distinct parts. The first is a sharp, patronizingly written critique of the Bielefelders (Wehler, Kocka, and Puhle), and Hans Rosenberg. Among the many theories that Volker Hentschel finds without empirical economic support are "the great depression," "organized capitalism," *Sammlungspolitik*, and counter-cyclical state intervention in imperial Germany. He also dismisses the Caprivi and Bülow tariffs and tax reforms after 1890 as not worthy of much attention since their impact was negligible. These conclusions are not based on the discovery of a new cache of hitherto unknown sources but on a re-working of the traditional statistical yearbooks and conventional secondary sources.

Hentschel tells us, for instance, that the rate of growth increased from 1880 to 1908 and thus the concept of a "great depression" is "false and misleading." His charts are based on the volumes of Hoffmann (1965) and Wagenführ (1933), both of whom are cited extensively by Rosenberg, Wehler, and nearly all other economic historians. The same point can be found in Gerschenkron's review of Rosenberg (*Journal of Economic History*, 28 [1968]: 154), and if one reads Rosenberg carefully, one finds the following on page 27: "In regard to the long upwards movement in the total volume of industrial products, as in real wages in the period from 1873 until 1896 there can be no talk of a 'Great Depression' in England, in the U.S. or in Germany." Rosenberg goes on to suggest that rising production may have been the response of industrialists seeking to compensate for sharply reduced profits. He also argues that the crisis was in prices, profits, and interest rates—subjects that Hentschel glides over. In addition, Rosenberg believes that what constitutes a depression may be different for a social historian than for an economist.

Hentschel is quite cavalier in rejecting the importance of grain tariffs. At most, he finds, they added 1.5 percent to the expenditures of a working-class family. But two-thirds of the population earned only a subsistence wage (below 900 marks), and 1.5 percent is more than they were likely to obtain for a year's wage increase. The interrelationship between banks and joint stock companies is viewed as a secondary phenomenon not characteristic of German development. That interlocking directorates between bankers and industrialists were common is admitted, but Hentschel naively denies that this proves bankers actually influenced the industrialists. By pointing to the traditional artisan sector of the economy, he questions the degree of centralization in the private sphere. The trend, however, is crystal clear for those who look at the size of enterprise over time, and comparison with Britain or France would confirm the large scale of German industrial firms.

The second part outlines Wilhelminian economic history as Hentschel believes it should be written—with the politics and interest groups left out. There are a series of chapters on four-five year cycles between 1895 and 1913, in which technical innovations à la Schumpeter are stressed. Thus the ability of AEG to transmit high voltage current 175 kilometers from Lauffen to Frankfurt is considered of much greater significance than Bismarck's tariffs or tax legislation. Technical impulses are accorded great weight in fostering a recovery after the downturn of 1891–94. A demographic chapter concludes with the unremarkable point that population rose because of a decline in mortality rates and the fall off in emigration.

Convinced that imperial economic policy was the result of a series of accidents and that power scarcely played a role in governmental economic decisions, Hentschel stresses that chaos rather than order characterized German economic policy. Confusion and contradictions abound, we are told. If the Junkers came out better in the end, it was only a consolation prize to cushion their decline. Hentschel's prescription is, thus, for a narrowly compartmentalized brand of economic history that remains at a very empirical level. Curiously, this does not prevent him from concluding the last sentence with praise for the " 'progressive' historical shape of the German Kaiserreich in the social and economic

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sphere" (p. 261). This rather tendentious volume is not suited for scholars interested in the complex and changing relationships between economics, politics, and society in imperial Germany.

KENNETH D. BARKIN
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DAVID F. CREW. *Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860–1914.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 289. $20.00.

Despite its title, this book is not, and does not intend to be, a social history of Bochum in the more rigorous sense. It certainly does not adhere to the more traditional social history approach; it excludes, for example, an analysis of the city's bureaucratic institutions and its growth in terms of demographic expansion. David F. Crew does not even pay attention to any concept of urbanization, yet the study is an example of modern urban history and among the first to explore urban history in Germany. Crew shows himself strongly influenced by recent American mobility studies, and his book deserves merit just for its continuous references to comparable developments especially in Western Europe and the U.S. In addition to the common set of archival sources on urban history, the author concentrates on exploring a sample of about eleven hundred inhabitants taken from the 1880 city directory that is related to corresponding materials in 1890 and 1901. His investigation is completed by an analysis of marriage patterns based on the Bochum family book of 1900 and of occupational developments on the grounds of available statistical sources.

There are three major problems the author examines thoroughly. First, after a more general description of the patterns of migration (particularly the motives and consequences of intra-urban fluctuation), he focuses attention on a stimulating analysis of social mobility, especially within the lower classes of this rapidly industrializing city in the midst of the Ruhr region. Second, there follows a close examination of urban class relationships in terms of political behavior, including a short history of the city's small but mighty group of leading industrialists. Third, in another very stimulating and well-written chapter, he compares social protest among miners and metalworkers. Crew persuasively criticizes recent approaches of social scientists and historians toward social protest and comes to interesting conclusions of his own.

In short, the main results are as follows: In accordance with common assumptions of mobility historians both in West Germany and the U.S., Crew finds little upward mobility among German unskilled and semiskilled workers like miners and day and factory workers. Only skilled metalworkers showed a somewhat higher mobility rate though still much lower than in the U.S. The very structure of the German educational system during the Kaiserreich served more to maintain class divisions than to overcome them, and social control in the big plants remained strong so that status improvement depended on good conduct and benevolence. At the same time chances to acquire property slightly increased, which is, as I believe, an exception from the otherwise pessimistic outlook on the Ruhr region as a whole. In general Crew attributes the comparatively high stability of urban class divisions in Germany more to the structural shape of German industrial organization than to often assumed feudal-conservative value orientations, though both may be connected closely.

One of the important findings of this study is that heavy industrialists were not able to exert unlimited influence upon city life and politics. A sensible reluctance of the old middle class (trade and handicraft) to support industrial growth everywhere prevented Bochum managers from completely achieving social control over the city and, correspondingly, the working class. Social protest was possible and took place, but social protest among miners was much more militant and much better organized than among metalworkers, the other main occupational grouping within the city. In searching for the causes of this difference, Crew does not find many arguments in support of either the uprooting or the misery theory; he calls attention instead to a concept of "occupational community," which, according to him, is needed to explain the development and exercise of solidarity among workers. In order to support this approach, the author convincingly examines intermarriage and fluctuation patterns as well as neighborhood and ward persistence within those different working-class strata.

Without doubt Crew's book significantly contributes to the history of urban stratification, mobility, and protest in Germany during industrialization, although German research on the topic may not be as backward or misleading as the author assumes In this respect Crew feels inclined to join the criticism made by a group of younger English historians of modern German social history, which usually, but not quite correctly, is identified with the certainly admirable work of Hans-Ulrich Wehler. The reproach is, among others, that German historians tend to overestimate the conservative and restrictive features of German political development while not adequately evaluating the modernizing effects that the rapidly growing economy had upon the lower strata. To me this does not seem to be a real fault and contradiction. After all, what does it mean, if chances for upward social mobility turn out to have been very limited and social control measures as ex-

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erted by plant managers labored to keep up traditional values like taming social relations "by morality and duty" (p. 156)?

KLAUS TENFELDE
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JEAN H. QUATAERT. *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885–1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 310. $18.50.

In an admirably researched and lucidly written account, Jean H. Quataert examines the convergence and contradictions of sex and class in German socialist feminism. She analyzes the history of the proletarian women's movement between 1885 and 1917 from a feminist perspective, providing a new and perceptive interpretive framework as well as a wealth of information. The literature on German, socialist, and women's history is enriched by her accomplishment.

In theory, socialists and feminists shared a vision of an egalitarian and just future, but theirs was an ambivalent alliance. For class-conscious women who sought to improve their lot but who disdained to identify with bourgeois feminists, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) provided a supportive milieu—as long as they soft-pedaled their feminism. Socialist feminists were successful in creating within the SPD a model women's movement, but their overall achievement was diminished by their inability to improve the inferior position of women in the party and at home. Party leaders and cadre who accepted a theoretical commitment to female equality and the incorporation of feminist reforms into their program nevertheless harbored antifeminist (and here one should add, antifemale) attitudes. They were quick to praise their wives as "beasts of burden," but they did little to implement equality in the public or domestic spheres. Paradoxically, and to the detriment of their movement, socialist feminists shared male attitudes regarding the domestic destiny of women, despite their often radical proposals to end sex oppression.

The contradictions of sex and class produced an unthreatening, "reluctant" feminism. Women placed class before sex, regarding their feminist program as hastening the coming of socialism. Nevertheless, their attachment to feminist ideals was not merely instrumental. They genuinely believed that women could only achieve full emancipation once the existing social order had been destroyed.

To correct inequalities at the workplace, socialist feminists argued against formal equality and in favor of protective legislation. Similarly, in politics, they demanded special rights and quasi-independence within the SPD. Yet, here unity ended. Women clashed over questions of priority. The spectrum of their debates is illustrated in Quataert's excellent section on the careers of eight leading women. She examines the often profound ideological, tactical, and personal differences among them as well as the intersection of their personal and political lives. Her examples include such diverse figures as the orthodox Marxist, Clara Zetkin, who subordinated feminist concerns to the class struggle; the trade unionist, Gertrud Hanna, who placed immediate gains for working women above purely political considerations; the feminist conscience of the movement, Lily Braun, who sided with the revisionists and was willing to work with middle-class feminists; and the second generation leader, Marie Juchasz, who presided over the postwar decline of socialist feminism into women's municipal welfare work.

Quataert contributes to our knowledge of the legal, economic, and cultural basis of the socialist women's movement in Germany. She broadens our understanding of the trade union and SPD subcultures as well as of the important debates within Social Democracy. Throughout, she demonstrates how feminism adapted to specific political realities and cultural traditions. Going well beyond Werner Thönnessen's significant study, *The Emancipation of Women: The Rise and Decline of the Women's Movement in German Social Democracy, 1863–1933* (1973), Quataert's is a competent and scholarly work that will be widely consulted.

MARION A. KAPLAN
Columbia University

GARY P. STEENSON. *Karl Kautsky, 1854–1938: Marxism in the Classical Years.* Pittsburgh: The University Press. 1978. Pp. xii, 308. $15.95.

Within the German Social Democratic movement and throughout the Second International, Karl Kautsky was recognized and admired as a leading socialist theoretician and authoritative interpreter of Marx and Engels. Yet, later socialists, political scientists, and historians have not been kind to Kautsky. Those in the Leninist tradition continue to utter sweeping denunciations, while others have stressed the negative implications of his work or even belittled his achievements. In view of this, Gary P. Steenson's study is especially welcome. It is well researched, concise, and judicious in the best sense of the word. Measured criticisms are paired with sympathetic perceptions as Steenson seeks to comprehend both Kautsky and his critics. The organization is strictly chronological, centered on how Kautsky first arrived at and then elaborated his understanding of Marxism. Steenson thus provides a compact exposition of Kautsky's theoretical and historical writings, but he includes only a bare min-

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imum of personal biographical information. Although this approach assures a coherent structure, it also gives the text a one-dimensional quality. To be sure, this is not entirely the fault of the author. Despite the excitement that took place around Kautsky, he did not live a particularly exciting life. As Steenson notes, Kautsky insisted on an ordered and peaceful domestic environment in which to write and fulfill his editorial duties without interruption. He made his contribution to international socialism as a publicist, theoretician, and editor, not as a man of action or even of the spoken word.

Steenson attempts to correct several views about Kautsky that he believes to be mistaken. He challenges the common opinion that Kautsky was inflexible and doctrinaire and accents instead his humanism. He recognizes fully the influence of Darwinian theory on Kautsky but vigorously disputes the notion that Kautsky rejected the dialectic in favor of an evolutionary conception of social development. There is some merit in this position, though in Steenson's own text there is very little emphasis on Kautsky as a dialectical thinker. On a closely related point, Steenson maintains that Kautsky did not "succumb to quietism," as some would have it, but found a balance between determinism and voluntarism. The debate on this issue, however, is far from resolved. The evidence that Steenson himself presents lends as much credence to the quietist interpretation as to his own. Although he defends Kautsky on numerous issues, Steenson is in no way an apologist, for he makes clear his own very critical evaluation. In his judgment, Kautsky was not a creative thinker who added substantively to Marxist thought. He was chiefly a popularizer whose influence before the First World War depended in great part on his close relationship with August Bebel. One of Steenson's major themes, on which there should be no disagreement, is that Kautsky was seriously lacking in political skill and that his greatest weakness was in assuming that "practice would largely take care of itself, while theory required closer attention" (p. 247). Although conflicting judgments about Kautsky will continue to be expressed, Steenson's balanced account will be essential reading for those working on the history of socialist thought before and after the First World War.

VERNON LIDTKE
Johns Hopkins University

MARTIN SCHUMACHER. *Land und Politik: Eine Untersuchung über politische Parteien und agrarische Interessen, 1914–1923.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien, number 65.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1978. Pp. 589. DM 84.

JENS FLEMMING. *Landwirtschaftliche Interessen und Demokratie: Ländliche Gesellschaft, Agrarverbände und Staat, 1890–1925.* (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte.) Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft. 1978. Pp. xv, 366. DM 48.

These two books go a long way toward filling major lacunae in the history of the Weimar Republic. Strange as it may seem, when one considers the similar primary and secondary sources upon which these rather sizable studies are based, they neither overlap significantly enough to reduce the value of either work in any serious way, nor do they eliminate the desirability of further monographic and general work on the agrarian sector in the Weimar Republic. The dearth of scholarship on agriculture during the First World War and Weimar Republic reflects, in a sense, the agrarian sector's existential condition during those years. The war and revolution marked the same kind of irreversible decline in the political power of the agrarian sector that in the 1870s had marked its economic status. Yet the unhappy role played by agrarian interests at the end of the republic is reason enough to make one wonder about its foundations, and this consideration alone makes the works of Martin Schumacher and Jens Flemming very welcome indeed.

Despite the shorter period encompassed by Schumacher's study, it is certainly the more comprehensive of the two works. It deals with almost every significant aspect of agrarian politics, and it does so with remarkable command of the subject matter. The book is divided into three parts. The first provides a history of government policy toward agriculture from the development of the *Zwangswirtschaft* (controlled economy) during the war, through the tactical accommodations of government and agrarian interests to one another during the revolution, to the gradual dismantling of government controls on agriculture during the last years of the inflation (1921–23). It is followed by a second section of topical chapters dealing with disparate but important problems: socialization, Weimar's land settlement legislation, agrarian electoral politics, the Kapp Putsch, and the effects of the inflation and labor conflicts on the countryside. The final section of the book is devoted to a series of chapters on the agrarian policies of the various political parties.

Given this structure and encyclopedic effort, it is not at all surprising that major themes and issues appear and disappear in such a way as to make it difficult for the reader to a find a main line or argument, and this is a pity because the book is filled with important, novel, and convincing arguments and analyses. Particularly welcome is the author's understanding of the agrarian perspective, as is evidenced by his recognition of the inequities, absur-

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dities, and planlessness of the *Zwangswirtschaft* and of the manner in which it left the farmers embittered while it undermined the authority of successive governments. In his brief but rich chapter on the effects of the inflation, Schumacher challenges the traditional image of agrarian profiteering, pointing out that it was largely the East Elbian landowners who were able to benefit from paying off their mortgages in depreciated currency and that the entire agrarian plant made little long-term profit from the inflation. The severity of the later agrarian crisis in Germany, therefore, should come as no surprise. At the same time, Schumacher is properly skeptical about the historicity of alternative agrarian policies, pointing out that agrarian interests were able to play upon fears concerning the food supply to form a tactical alliance with the Socialist leaders after the revolution. Schumacher demonstrates that the Socialist leaders were bereft of an attractive and viable agrarian program and tended to follow the lead of traditional agrarian reformers who indulged in fantasies about reagrarianization through land settlement. Ironically, therefore, Weimar regimes freed agriculture from the controls imposed by their conservative predecessors without winning the loyalty or gratitude of the farmers.

This hostility between agriculture and democracy is the focus of Flemming's fine study. In contrast to Schumacher, Flemming concentrates largely upon the policies and tactics of the agrarian interest group organizations, particularly the *Bund der Landwirte* and the *Reichslandbund*, and he devotes special attention to labor relations in the countryside. His geographical focus, even when he turns his attention to regional case studies, lies east of the Elbe. Thus, if one wishes to learn more about the important western German peasantry and their organizations, the crucial role played by Centrist agrarian policies, and such Centrist agrarian leaders as Carl Herold and Andreas Hermes, then it is to Schumacher that one must turn. Flemming, however, has written the more readable of the two books, and what he loses in comprehensiveness, he gains in the vividness of his description and analysis of agrarian interest group politics and of the policies pursued by such agrarian leaders as Gustav Roesicke, Freiherr von Wangenheim, and Karl Hepp.

The basic theme of Flemming's book is the continuity of interest group ideology and politics between 1890 and 1925. This was particularly the case with respect to economic and social policy, where the wartime and postwar shortages were used to legitimize the demand for the return to protectionism just as they were used to evade or sabotage anything more than a minimal coming to terms with organized labor in the countryside. Flemming's description of conditions in Pomerania and Mecklenburg-Strelitz demonstrates that in some agricultural regions it was possible to conduct a veritable war against the modest reforms created by the Weimar Republic, although, as Flemming shows, the landowners in Silesia and Brandenburg proved more flexible in their willingness to come to terms at least with the Christian farmworker unions. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny Flemming's basic contention that the trade union movement in the countryside was a failure that was tantamount to the failure of democracy itself to take hold in those regions.

The dismal situation was compounded by the increasing tendencies toward radicalization within the agrarian interest group movement. Fleming demonstrates that not all was continuity after 1918, and the post-Kapp Putsch fusion between the *Bund der Landwirte* and the *Deutscher Landbund* to create the *Reichslandbund* in 1920 only heightened the tension between the radical land leagues, with their extreme anti-Semitic, antigovernmental, and corporatist postures, and the more adaptable, cautious, and compromising old-line leadership that had dominated the *Bund der Landwirte*. The alternation between confrontation and cooperation with the Weimar Republic was a hallmark of agrarian interest group politics until the agrarian crisis of the late 1920s decisively swung the pendulum toward the former. Flemming's study has the singular virtue of providing a detailed and convincing picture of the foundations of this development. It is to be hoped that both these books will encourage historians to fill in and add to their contribution by analyzing agrarian politics in the important regions of western and southern Germany and by encompassing the entire Weimar period.

GERALD D. FELDMAN
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WARREN B. MORRIS, JR. *The Revisionist Historians and German War Guilt.* (Studies in Revisionist Historiography.) New York: Revisionist Press. 1977. Pp. v, 141. $44.95.

In the preface to this useful volume, which is unfortunately marred by innumerable typographical errors, Warren B. Morris, Jr., remarks that the study of Nazi Germany, especially the causes of World War II and Nazi policy toward the Jews, has produced a debate among revisionists who have challenged virtually every standard interpretation and those who defend the traditional view. His purpose, then, is to study the issues involved in this debate and to propose some conclusions based on an analysis of primary sources, mainly memoirs and published documents.

The opening chapter surveys the major tradi-

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tional and revisionist works, while the remaining chapters focus on specific issues: the foundation of Nazi foreign policy, the Anschluss, the destruction of Czechoslovakia, the Polish crisis, the fate of the Jews, and, finally, the Nuremberg trial.

Morris credits the revisionists with having "made some very important contributions to scholarship, for they have forced historians to look at the Third Reich more objectively and to re-evaluate some of the old simplistic theories" (p. 110). At the same time, Morris's conclusions suggest that the work of the revisionists requires, at most, some shifts in emphasis, rather than a total rewriting of history.

In evaluating the development of Nazi foreign policy, Morris focuses on what is ultimately an unreal issue, for no serious historian would argue that Hitler possessed from an early point a detailed master plan that he then proceeded to execute step by step. To demolish what might be called "the blueprint theory" is to demolish a straw man. On a number of other points, however, Morris's conclusions are worthy of consideration. He suggests that the Austrian Nazis acted with relative independence in 1934 and, in regard to the Anschluss itself, he emphasizes the central role played by Goering. In considering developments in Czechoslovakia, Morris sees a need to focus more attention on the role of Henlein.

Turning to the more immediate origins of the war, Morris stresses the fact that the Soviets initiated the talks that led to the Hitler-Stalin pact, "something that most historians . . . seem to fail to consider" (p. 70). But he rejects arguments that tend to exonerate Hitler in the Polish crisis, declaring that "it appears that Hitler was bent on war" (p. 77).

Morris rightly gives short shrift to the extreme revisionists who have contended that few Jews died as a result of Nazi atrocities, and, while he considers the customary criticisms of the Nuremberg trials, he identifies legal bases for them and concludes that the "Allies really had no alternative but to assume the authority to judge and punish the leaders of the Third Reich for their illegal acts" (pp. 106–07). In his approach to the revisionists, Morris is thus generally moderate, although he does display a tendency to exaggerate their contributions to our knowledge.

BIRDSALL SCRYMSER VIAULT
Winthrop College

WERNER MASER. *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial.* Translated by RICHARD BARRY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1979. Pp. 368. $16.95.

Military victory was assured. Hitler was finally beaten. But serious questions still remained. What should the Allies do about the defeated Nazi regime? How should the total, heinous record of Hitler and his henchmen be presented to the world and preserved for posterity? Could any lasting contribution to future world peace come out of the ashes of mankind's bloodiest war?

The Allies decided on a trial of major Nazi war criminals and organizations before an international tribunal. According to Justice Robert H. Jackson, chief American prosecutor and the guiding force behind the development of the laws and procedures used at Nuremberg, the International Military Tribunal (IMT) "had no wish to annihilate Germany or exact vengeance but to hand over the guilty to the law and set new international standards for the future . . ." (p. 85). In addition, the Allies hoped to provide the world and history with a clear picture of Nazism and its horrors. "Our case against the major defendants," wrote Jackson, "is concerned with the Nazi master plan, not with individual barbarities and perversions" (p. 28). Thus, the Nuremberg trials were envisioned both as a vehicle for providing a historical record of Nazism and as a legal mechanism for punishing Nazi war criminals.

Werner Maser's study, originally published as *Nürnberg: Tribunal der Sieger* (1977), is critical of the Nuremberg trials both for their legal shortcomings and their historical inaccuracies. As the original German title suggests, Maser's major criticism was that Nuremberg was not an international court of justice but a victors' tribunal. The judges were appointed exclusively by the nations that had won the war. Moreover, the victorious Allies created new rules of law in order to punish the Nazis. This procedure violated the traditional legal prohibition against applying ex post facto laws. Maser is particularly critical of the tribunal's refusal to allow the major war criminals to use the defense that they were merely obeying superior orders. Maser also rejects the idea of a Nazi conspiracy: "From the evidence and documents . . . it could be deduced that these enormities were perpetrated in such secrecy that not even all the major defendants had more than a vague or totally erroneous idea of them, so well were they camouflaged" (p. 178).

Quoting extensively from defense testimony published in the forty-volume *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, Maser expresses a concern about the selective nature of the prosecution documents used to make the cases against the Nazi defendants. Maser argues that many defendants did not have access to much documentation that might have been helpful for their defense. Moreover, the writing of history based primarily or exclusively on the prosecution documents provides an incomplete and often distorted picture of Nazism. In his final chapter on Nuremberg in history, Maser underlines the limitations of the trials by citing the disillusionment of

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Lord Shawcross, British chief prosecutor at the IMT, who reflects: "Our Nuremberg hope that we had made some contribution to transition to a peaceful world under the rule of law has not been fulfilled" (p. 282).

Maser's documentation and interpretation clearly place his study within the growing revisionist literature on Nuremberg and the Nazi era. Maser, however, would not like his work to be viewed as an apology for Nazism. "Realistic criticism of the IMT," Maser argues, "is not synonymous with apology for and defence of the past nor is it tantamount to saying that the law of vengeance alone was applied in Nuremberg" (pp. 283–84). Maser understands the difficulty one faces in writing critically of Nuremberg when he points out that the "world war" generation in the United States is still sensitive to any criticism of Nuremberg as a tribunal of victors or the prosecution view that the Nazi tyranny was a conspiracy from its inception (p. 283).

I would argue that most Americans judge the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust with different standards than they judge the horrors of Hiroshima or My Lai. One may write critically of Hiroshima or Vietnam and be labeled a revisionist, but if one writes critically of Nuremberg and Nazism, one is more likely to be labeled an apologist. Since the difference between a revisionist and an apologist is most often decided by the bias of the reader, you will have to render the final judgment on Maser's *Nuremberg*.

JESSE SILVERGLATE
Florida Memorial College

HANS-DIETER KREIKAMP. *Deutsches Vermögen in den Vereinigten Staaten: Die Auseinandersetzung um seine Rückführung als Aspekt der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1952–1962.* (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, number 14; Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland nach 1945, number 2.) Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1979. Pp. 315. DM 36.

One of the unsolved problems affecting U.S.-German relations after World War II was the question of German assets in the U.S. that had been seized by the U.S. government during the war. On the basis of wartime Allied agreements, German foreign assets were to be treated as part of the reparations settlements and were to be used to satisfy claims of American citizens for war damages. But there was also a strong demand in this country for totally eliminating German industrial interests and competition, for most of these assets had belonged to a few large German concerns, chiefly chemicals, some of which had been involved in one way or another in the operation of the Nazi extermination camps.

The Adenauer government, pressed by certain industrial and political circles, embarked on protracted negotiations with Washington in order to reach an agreement for maximum compensation. To be sure, for Adenauer, intent upon achieving full sovereignty and Western integration for the federal republic, this question was of minor importance. Nevertheless, the Bonn negotiators pressed for full compensation, not failing to point out the revolutionary nature of the U.S. policy of confiscation that involved, after all, a violation of international law and the sanctity of private property. During the years of the Cold War, Washington, in order to win West German support in the Western alliance, indicated some willingness to bring about an "equitable monetary return" for Germany (statement by President Eisenhower, July 31, 1957). But owing to strong resistance among influential American industrial groups and in the Congress, it proved impossible during ten years of laborious efforts to find a practical solution. The progressive deterioration of the political atmosphere in the early sixties due to changing East-West relations and the growing problem of U.S. trade deficits tended to harden the attitude of Washington toward the Bonn government.

The author of this monograph (which began as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Bochum) has traced the gyrations of the negotations for adequate compensation in a painstakingly detailed fashion. Proceeding chronologically month by month, and almost day by day, Hans-Dieter Kreikamp points up the involvement of economic and financial interests and the interrelationship of domestic and foreign policy in both countries. He comes to the conclusion that the negotiations failed in the end—with the Kennedy administration the American interest in accommodating Bonn waned significantly—largely due to Bonn's inflexibility and failure to understand the American political process. Numerous chances for a meaningful compromise, he feels, were missed.

The study is based on a wide range of published and unpublished materials in West German and U.S. archives, including congressional, presidential, and State Department files. The papers of Helmut Wohlthat, an influential economic adviser of Henkel and Company (one of the claimants) and of the "Studiengesellschaft für privatrechtliche Auslandsinteressen," which had been formed after the war to act as a political pressure group to obtain compensation, proved particularly valuable. The documentation in the notes is very extensive and informative. The author's interviews and correspondence with Hermann Abs, the leader of the German negotiating delegation, and with other German and American persons concerned with the problem of

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German assets have substantially enriched this solid and useful monograph.

CARL G. ANTHON
American University

WOLFGANG BENZ *et al. Einheit der Nation: Diskussionen und Konzeptionen zur Deutschlandpolitik der grossen Parteien seit 1945.* (Neuzeit im Aufbau, Darstellung und Dokumentation, number 3.) Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog. 1978. Pp. 399.

This book is a useful mixture of textbook, compendium, chronology, and bibliography. It serves the dual purpose of introducing students to one of the central political problems of postwar German politics and of providing an easy source of reference to more advanced readers. The first third of the book is devoted to a descriptive analysis of the origins and evolution of the programmatic demands and political strategies of the ruling Christian Democratic Party (CDU and CSU), of the Social Democrats as the major opposition party and eventual successor to the CDU, and of the Free Democratic Party (FDP), which, at different times, was part of the government and of the opposition.

Based on a thorough reading of the relevant literature, the authors tell a familiar story well and arrive at the unsurprising conclusion that today, and for the foreseeable future, West Germany's political parties have relinquished their hopes for reunification. The Cold War and Adenauer's unambiguous political choices in the early years of the Bonn republic set the switches for political developments that the Germans could not escape in later years. Through the Eastern policy, the West German parties tried in the late 1960s and early 1970s to accommodate themselves to the relaxation of tension between the superpowers, which had removed reunification from the top of the agenda of international politics. Although West Germany's political parties have dropped their demand for a unified political nation (*Staatsnation*), they are, to different degrees, still insisting today on the existence of a German cultural nation (*Kulturnation*).

The bulk of the book consists of a selection of speeches, interviews, and articles of the main political figures in the three party camps. The selections are on the whole well chosen and instructive. The book might have been more useful still if these selected readings had extended beyond the year 1967 and included the debates over Willy Brandt's Eastern policy in the early 1970s. Finally, the book concludes with an annotated chronology of the years 1945–73.

This book synthesizes existing knowledge rather than proposing new interpretations. Its most interesting aspect, at least to this reader, is the discussion of continuity and change in the political conceptions of FDP politicians who normally do not figure prominently in the accounts detailing either the heroic struggle between Adenauer and Schumacher in the late 1940s and early 1950s over West Germany's Western policy or the gradual shift in SPD thinking in the late 1950s and early 1960s that eventually led to West Germany's Eastern policy.

PETER KATZENSTEIN
Cornell University

MARTIN MCCAULEY. *Marxism-Leninism in the German Democratic Republic: The Socialist Unity Party (SED).* (Studies in Russian and East European History.) New York: Barnes and Noble, and School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, London. 1979. Pp. xix, 267. $23.50.

The subtitle of this new study gives a more accurate indication than the title of what its focus is to be. The party, not the ideology, is Martin McCauley's chief concern. His book is basically an account of the SED's development, told in five chapters, with major political events—the party's founding in April 1946, the uprising of June 17, 1953, the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the removal of Walter Ulbricht from the leadership in 1971—providing the transitions. Rather than break new ground, a difficult task given the limitations on available sources, McCauley summarizes what has been known previously but fragmentarily. Material that has been scattered about among Western analyses and East German press reports and publications is brought together here. In some cases this base is narrower than it should be, most notably in the second chapter, where forty-six of seventy-two footnotes are drawn from only four secondary works. Overall, however, the book is comprehensive and informative, reminiscent in its way of the early studies of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany that dealt in exhaustive detail with party programs, organization, and policy.

One of McCauley's main themes is the persistence of specific German elements in SED policy, from the party's affirmation of a German road to socialism in the postwar years to what he terms Ulbricht's "socialism with a German face" in the 1960s. On the evidence he offers, however, the emphasis seems overstated. Perhaps it could be sustained by a more probing discussion of ideological currents than the author has undertaken, but, as it stands, the argument depends too much on excerpts or recapitulations of programmatic statements by Ulbricht and other SED officials. To what extent they represented a reality as against the ultimate

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sanction of Moscow is not consistently explained. Nor is it made clear why the New Economic System and Economic System of Socialism of the sixties should be analyzed primarily in a national framework rather than as examples of a general development within the East European Communist sphere. It may be inevitable that problems of context will be present in a book that imparts as much information as McCauley's. But it is a recurring weakness, as, for example, when the fall of Franz Dahlem in 1953 is described as "one of Ulbricht's greatest triumphs" (p. 68), yet no explanation is ventured of Dahlem's popularity or of his prominence in the German Communist Party before 1933. What McCauley has accomplished with his volume on the SED deserves applause. As a reference work it will prove to be very useful. In its interpretive aspects, however, it remains a limited analysis.

DAN S. WHITE
State University of New York, Albany

HANNES STEKL. *Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser, 1671–1920: Institutionen zwischen Fürsorge und Strafvollzug.* (Sozial- und Wirtschaftshistorische Studien, number 12.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1978. Pp. 412. DM 64.

Critics of current welfare policies and penal conditions would be appalled at the large number of indigent persons, the nature of workhouses, and the treatment of their inmates during the three centuries preceding World War I in the Austrian Empire. Although undergoing substantial change and improvement between 1671 and 1920, the Austrian workhouses never totally ceased being institutions of incarceration, which often merged the criminal element with those merely deprived and which were unsuccessful in creating honest, productive, and ambitious citizens out of those who lived on the fringe of society. The desire to assist the poor and indolent, as well as petty criminals, was clearly evident; but, as the author sympathetically details, the imperial government was beset by nearly insurmountable problems. A major reason for concern was the chronic lack of funds to erect proper institutions and to provide for the needs of the indigent. In addition, the economic underdevelopment of many areas of the empire created a large marginal populace that suffered extreme adversity because of wars and natural catastrophes.

Besides examining the background history of workhouses throughout Europe and Austria, and relating the major problems and causes of indigency in the empire, Hannes Stekl enters into a detailed portrayal of the operations and nature of the institutions. The only area that is neglected is the personal experiences of the inmates. Valuable as such an insight might be, its absence does not reduce substantially the quality of the book. The author has relied upon numerous statistical documents and case files to present an accurate picture of the nature of life within the Austrian penal institutions. The bulk of the work is devoted to a comparative and detailed examination of such matters as the programs for reform and their administration, financial management and problems, the treatment and activities of the inmates, the quality of the buildings and personnel, and an assessment of the value and successes of the workhouses. Details regarding the amount of bread consumed, the pay of inmates and administrators, the number of blows meted out for various offenses, and a myriad of other common concerns are thoroughly investigated. Clearly the author has engaged in a major research effort to ferret out such depth and detail from widely disparate and fragmentary sources.

This volume makes several valuable contributions. First, it presents an examination of a subject area that has largely been ignored and gives numerous insights into the lives of society's outcasts. Second, it provides a greater understanding of the problem faced by the poor nations of the world: how to eliminate poverty and indolence when the national economy is not capable of providing enough jobs or wealth to ensure basic human necessities. Although not written in a scintillating style, the book is good social history, a sorely needed commodity in the studies of the Austrian Empire.

BLAIR R. HOLMES
Brigham Young University

PAUL B. BERNARD. *The Limits of Enlightenment: Joseph II and the Law.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 146. $13.50.

Paul B. Bernard has already established himself with three previous works as one of the leading English-speaking authorities on the work and reign of Emperor Joseph II. He now presents us with another compact little book or essay reflecting on the administration of criminal justice under this emperor in relation to his professed ideas of enlightenment. The choice is a happy one to the extent that the relationship between people and ruler is perhaps best, or certainly most easily, gauged by the working of the judicial administration. Since Henry Strakosch has already performed such fine work on the attempted reform of the legal codes and judicial organization, Bernard wisely concentrates on examining the treatment of crime. Unfortunately, researchers into Austrian—and most of German—history do not possess the rich sources that the *Annales*

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historians can employ for their work on France. This is especially true in the case of the study of crime, where we are left with only the crumbs, most often only the verdicts in criminal prosecution without any of the actual court records. Hence any statistical study of value is a priori ruled out. Therefore, after some hard searching the author came up with only a few cases, but interesting ones, whose records survived because either they "were treated as administrative matters, never reaching the courts at all," or they "caught the interest of some prominent person" (p. xi). Most of them he took from the archival remains of the notorious head of the Vienese police, Count Johann Anton Pergen, or from the annals of the Vienna criminal court. They make delightful reading, a quality enhanced by the author's own engaging style.

But his approach raises inevitable problems. As the title of the book suggests, Bernard seeks to find the limits of the rule of law under Joseph II. He rightly starts by describing the pre-1787 changes made in the administration of criminal justice during the reigns of Maria Theresa and her son as well as the *Allgemeines Gesetzbuch* of 1787, which together marked a considerable advance toward the legal concepts espoused by the Enlightenment. He then contrasts this general development with Joseph's own frequently inhumane attitude and his blatant interference in the due process of law. The author accuses the emperor of fifteen cases of miscarriage of justice; of these, three involved moral cases, one a traffic violation, and the rest alleged offenses against the vital security of the state. He recounts most of these at length. The picture that emerges from the book is of an arbitrary, irascible, yea even paranoid ruler aided and abetted by an only slightly more calculating head of secret police. By this standard, Frederick II of Prussia, who renounced *Kabinettjustiz* in 1752 and "lived up to this high ideal with a few temporary relapses" (p. 122), compares favorably. However abhorrent Joseph's conduct in the cases cited may have been and whatever flaws they reveal in his character, they must be weighed against the tens of thousands of regular criminal prosecutions that, although unrecorded, presumably proceeded according to existing norms. In his eagerness to show us the "limits of enlightenment" Bernard unintentionally tips the balance too far in the process of depriving us of any illusions we may have had about this epitome of an "enlightened despot."

The author spices his account with an interesting speculation about the cause of what appeared to be the emperor's increasingly erratic behavior during the last half-dozen years of his reign (p. 124). This deserves a more thorough investigation by psychohistorians. In all, leaving aside some minor irritants, such as the absence of headings for the individual chapters (presumably to excite our curiosity) and a few typographical errors, the essay is a welcome addition to our literature on enlightened despotism.

HANNS GROSS
Loyola University, Chicago

GAVIN LEWIS. *Kirche und Partei im politischen Katholizismus: Klerus und Christlichsoziale in Niederösterreich, 1885–1907.* Translated from English by HEDWIG PFARRHOFER. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte am Internationalen Forschungszentrum für Grundfragen der Wissenschaften, Salzburg, Series Two, Studies, number 4.) Vienna: Geyer-Edition. 1977. Pp. xix, 424.

Gavin Lewis's *Kirche und Partei im politischen Katholizismus* is an excellent study of the rise of the Christian Social Party in Lower Austria from the creation of the Cisleithanian parliamentary system in 1867 to the establishment of universal male suffrage in 1907. The limitation of the book to Vienna and its environs in Lower Austria does not detract from its usefulness because this area became a center of great Christian Social strength. The party grew to dominate Austrian politics under the First Republic until 1934 and, transformed into the *Österreichische Volkspartei*, has played a major role since 1945 in the Second Republic.

Lewis puts the development of the Christian Social Party into the context of the political mass mobilization associated with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century modernization processes in Europe. The party, however, was unable to fulfill its aspirations for widespread support in all social classes. It developed a following within the lower middle classes and peasantry but, as Lewis points out (p. 241), failed in competition with the Social Democrats for support among the workers. Neither priests nor secular Christian Social leaders showed much affinity for the proletariat, a problem Lewis might have explored more fully with a deeper analysis of the social and educational backgrounds of the clergymen and their lay allies.

In their desire to activate the masses politically, the Christian Socialists differed from the older, more establishmentarian, conservatives. A new right, the Christian Socialists came into conflict with the conservatives and also many potential allies within the Church hierarchy. Caught between their pastoral calling and the demands for political engagement by demagogic and anti-Semitic Christian Social leaders such as Karl Lueger, many, especially among the higher clergy, chose the former. As Lewis aptly puts it, the Church could not be both political and universal (p. 256). A showdown came in 1894 when conservative Austrian bishops were able to persuade the Vatican to condemn the tactics

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of the Christian Socialists. By the time of the electoral reform of 1907, however, the two sides had sufficiently moderated their mutual mistrust to cooperate in politics. They joined with what Lewis calls the Catholic "non-political organizations," dedicated to religious teaching, charity, and social work, to create a formidable tripartite force in Austrian political life after 1907. In the context of the development of modern Austrian politics, the differences between openly political organizations and the "non-political" Catholic organizations are less significant than Lewis suggests. All contributed to the creation of a powerful new conservative movement, as Lewis indicates, the only major faction remaining loyal to the Habsburg dynasty to the end.

Lewis's book is a sound and thorough analysis of the clerical reaction to the rise of Christian Socialism. It fills an important gap in Austrian political studies. Most earlier accounts of the events about which Lewis writes center on party leaders such as Lueger and lay theoreticians such as Vogelsang, more flamboyant personalities with more readily accessible speeches and writings than those of the less dramatic and more obscure clergymen. Lewis has made good use of Church archives in Vienna and St. Pölten together with the Catholic press of the period to provide a comprehensive view of the formation of one of Europe's most important political movements.

BERTRAM M. GORDON
Mills College

EVERHARD HOLTMANN. *Zwischen Unterdrückung und Befriedung: Sozialistische Arbeiterbewegung und autoritäres Regime in Österreich, 1933–1938.* (Studien und Quellen zur Österreichischen Zeitgeschichte, number 1.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1978. Pp. 328. DM 52.

Everhard Holtmann's book is the informative result of extensive research, but it combines two or more approaches that are not always well integrated. The editors of this new series on interwar Austria, Rudolf Neck and Adam Wandruszka, see this book illuminating dark corners of the "Austro-fascist-authoritarian regime" and serving as an example of careful research likely to inspire emulation. The latter should indeed be the case. Only to a limited extent, however, does Holtmann's revised dissertation provide the basis for fresh interpretive insights into this depressing period.

Holtmann undertakes to chart the complexities of the legal, political, and propagandistic warfare between the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg governments and the splintering socialist workers' movement. After a broad-ranging introduction, he divides his material into three major segments, representing the regime's development, stabilization, and disintegration. In each segment Holtmann examines separately the policies of the adversaries; within each subsection he follows a main thread: the regime's use of the courts and police powers as instruments of repression and the arguments of and opposition to Otto Bauer. Along the way, Holtmann notes the divisions within the two camps and the impact of foreign influence on the conflict. If the book has a key word, it is *Tendenzjustiz*. Holtmann uses it often in describing the regime's juridical methods, as revealed especially in several notable political trials described at length. The villain of the piece is Kurt Schuschnigg, who largely directed the juridical war against the socialists and later refused to make meaningful political concessions.

Although clearly sympathizing with the socialists, Holtmann concludes with a relatively balanced appraisal of the nature of the regime. Indeed, his scattered interpretive reflections form some of the book's most readable passages. He concludes (pp. 271–74) that, however much it undemocratically and meanly meddled in the juridical process, the Catholic *Ständestaat* remained fundamentally a government of laws and not of men, in sharp contradistinction to Hitler's *Führerstaat*. Schuschnigg was, after all, an attorney! Even so, Holtmann adds, the regime prepared the ground for fascist dictatorship willingly enough, for neither Dollfuss nor Schuschnigg ever seriously considered reversing course. To them *Befriedung* essentially meant complete subservience on the part of the workers, even after taking pressures from Mussolini and the Heimwehr into account.

In sum, Holtmann provides an immense amount of information, but he springs no great surprises. The attentive reader will probably find the third of the book devoted to the conflicts within the socialist camp its most helpful component, synthesizing and supplementing, as it does, numerous treatments of one or another segment of the left. One could, of course, chide Holtmann for not adequately comparing the ways the regime treated its enemies of right and left and for not providing anything by way of tables of charts. The book badly needs a subject index. But the volume's strengths far outweigh such shortcomings. Indeed, on the basis of this promising start, one will expect solid contributions in the future from this young student of Hans Mommsen.

C. EARL EDMONDSON
Davidson College

GUISCARDO MOSCHETTI. *Il Catasto di Macerata dell'anno 1560 e la bolla 'Ubique Terrarum' di Paolo IV del 18 maggio 1557.* Volume 1, *Contributo metodologico storico giuridico sulla formazione del Catasto e sulle complesse*

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vicende di un' imposta pontificia nello Stato della Chiesa. (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà Giuridica dell' Università di Napoli, number 163.) Naples: Eugenio Jovene. 1978. Pp. xv, 427. L. 12,000.

In the course of his studies of sixteenth-century jurists in Macerata, Guiscardo Moschetti turned for information concerning economic status to the mid-sixteenth-century cadastre of rural lands held by Maceratese citizens. He was troubled, as were others who had consulted this survey, by its form and its apparent date. Evaluation of the source was not easy, however, since none of the implementing legislation survived. In the course of an excruciatingly thorough investigation of the volume, Moschetti has been able to offer reasonable conclusions about the present form of the first pages of the volume and the changes in order that these pages went through in two subsequent and shoddy rebindings. And he has corrected previous opinion that the volume was composed in 1550. He shows that it was rather composed in 1559–60 in response to the papal call for a subsidy contained in *Ubique terrarum.* These are only two of the many observations Moschetti makes in this exemplary piece of internal criticism. He shows the immense amount of information that a cadastre can betray about its date, composition, and completeness. Certainly his volume will be essential for anyone who wishes to consult the cadastre of 1560.

Even as one applauds Moschetti's critical achievement, it is disheartening to note that the author's frame of reference never expands much beyond the cadastre and the town of Macerata. To be sure, Moschetti's purpose was a close analysis of a single source, but the study was written as if no other Italian town had ever composed a cadastre or no other historian had ever undertaken a critical assessment of fiscal records. One wonders why, since he lacks the legislation of the Maceratese cadastre, Moschetti never discusses studies of the fiscal records of other Italian towns. This book will be essential for anyone needing to consult the Maceratese cadastre of 1560, but it adds little to our general understanding of Italian fiscal institutions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

DUANE J. OSHEIM
University of Virginia

VITTORIO CONTI. *Paolo Mattia Doria. Dalla repubblica dei togati alla repubblica dei notabili.* (Biblioteca dell'Archivio Storico Italiano, number 20.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1978. Pp. 266.

Late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Naples was a center of Enlightenment speculation. Philosophers, lawyers, and political theorists met in academies where their discussions ranged widely over past and contemporary Europe. Vico is the best known, but others of importance included Giuseppe Valletta (1636–1714) and the educator, mathematician, and philosopher Paolo Mattia Doria (1662–1746).

Doria set himself the perennial problem of finding the best form of government. He sought the answer from a wide variety of sources, from the ancients through Grotius and Pufendorf, and he strongly emphasized a historical and comparative analysis of states. His approach was reminiscent of Renaissance political theory; even the titles of two of Doria's works, *La Vita Civile* and *L'Educazione del Principe*, evoke the past. As Vittorio Conti points out, Plato and Machiavelli were the guiding poles of Doria's political thought as he sought a political theory that combined the wisdom of the philosopher-king with the practicality of the Florentine secretary.

This study includes an introduction and the text of Doria's last major work, *Il Politico Moderno* of 1739–40, which was left in manuscript at the author's death despite his intention that it be published. The treatise surveys contemporary governments with comments that bring out Doria's views. He disliked absolute monarchy and sought to limit it without adopting a constitution. His solution was a republic of notables, prestigious individuals who would occupy a middle position between people and sovereign. Seeking examples to illustrate his point, Doria praised Chinese mandarins as excellent illustrations of notables.

The first half of the book provides an introduction and account of Doria's thought, the second half the text, with notes, of *Il Politico Moderno* based on a Neapolitan manuscript. The book is aimed at a handful of specialists already well versed in the figures and themes of the Neapolitan Enlightenment. Conti does not even give Doria's birth date and tells the reader nothing about his life and little about the ambience. Parallels between Doria's treatise and other works need to be developed further. Italian scholars sometimes justly criticize Anglo-Saxons for writing a history of ideas detached from the social context. This monograph sins in that way as well as through a very narrow conception of its subjects. Nevertheless, the text is an interesting one.

PAUL F. GRENDLER
University of Toronto

GAURO COPPOLA. *Il mais nell'economia agricola lombarda (dal secolo XVII all'Unità).* (Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo Germanico. Monografia, number 1.) Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 1979. Pp. 232. L. 6,000.

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Although maize (Indian corn) was one of the most important new crops to be introduced into European agriculture in the wake of the discovery of the New World, the history of its diffusion has been comparatively neglected and only in recent years—possibly as a result of a renewed interest in the problems of nutrition and agricultural development—has attention been focused on the place and role the new cereal came to have in the agriculture of select Mediterranean countries. The present work by one of Italy's ablest young agrarian historians is the most recent contribution to the subject as it refers to Lombardy between 1600 and 1860. Drawing on a wealth of archival and printed sources (some of them conveniently reproduced in a large statistical appendix), Gauro Coppola has shown that, although maize was known in northern Italy since the early sixteenth century, it was not until the 1620s that it began to be cultivated in Lombardy in noticeable quantities and not until the late eighteenth century that it became the chief source of food for the peasant masses.

Coppola's careful reconstruction of the chronology of maize diffusion is followed by an admirably balanced analysis of the economics of maize cultivation and the impact of the diffusion of maize on agrarian contracts and peasant conditions. On the first point, the author shows that the introduction of the new crop into Lombard agriculture was effected without upsetting in any drastic way traditional farming practices, for maize simply replaced other grains (and notably millet and sorghum) as a second crop in the existing rotation pattern in which wheat continued to hold pride of place. As for landlord-peasant relationships, here too preexisting agrarian contracts could easily accommodate the new crop; the only innovation was a marked intensification of labor because the new plant called for deeper ploughing and frequent meticulous hoeing. The increased supply of effort, in turn, was secured by allowing tenants to retain most of the maize for their subsistence while requiring them to surrender the wheat crop as their rent.

If, from a strictly economic standpoint, the adoption and diffusion of maize reads like a success story (and was so regarded by most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agronomists), from the standpoint of peasant welfare the picture is a grim one. In chapter 4 the author discusses two of the consequences of the "irresistible march of maize": one was the additional, strenuous demands this labor-intensive crop imposed on the peasantry (notably on peasant women working with the hoe); the other was the ravages of pellagra among a rural population whose diet came to consist almost entirely of corn bread or cornmeal.

Coppola's book not only fills a large gap in the agrarian history of northern Italy, it also stands as a model of lucidity and comprehensiveness that will be hopefully imitated by students of other Italian regions.

DOMENICO SELLA
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROBERTO SALVO. *Vito Cusumano, dal liberismo al socialismo della cattedra*. Palermo: Instituto di Storia dell' Università di Palermo. 1979. Pp. 240.

German ideas are sometimes a stimulus in Italy (witness the Hegelian tradition in Naples), and the occasional infusion from the north sometimes provokes a revealing debate. Thus, in the early 1870s when Vito Cusumano expounded the economics of the German *Katheder-Sozialisten* in Italian journals, his challenge to prevailing orthodoxy evoked a response. Cusumano had studied in Berlin under Adolph Wagner, a leader of the *Katheder-Sozialisten* and a founder of the *Verein für Sozial-politik*. Using Cusumano's letters to Fedele Lampertico at the University of Pavia and his articles in the *Archivio Giuridico*, Roberto Salvo presents Cusumano's assault on the Manchester School, the rigid applications of its "laws" despite changing conditions, and the destructive atomization of society attributed to its operations. For Cusumano, Adolph Wagner's advocacy of social programs through state intervention constituted an important synthesis of liberalism and socialism.

The ensuing debate began in the journals in 1873 when free trader Francesco Ferrara attacked Cusumano's position in the *Nuova Antologia*, evoking a defense of state intervention from Luigi Luzzatti. The exchanges moved into congresses of Italian scholars in 1874–75 and ultimately led to the formation of two societies with their respective journals: the *Società "Adam Smith"* with its *L'Economista* and the *Associazione per il progresso degli studi economici* with its *Giornale degli Economisti*. Cusumano, although isolated among liberal economists at the technical institute in Palermo, pursued his campaign. When he reissued essays on the *Katheder-Sozialisten* in 1875, he added a section on Marx—the first clear exposition of its subject in Italy, says Salvo, although Cusumano wrote no critique, relying instead on those of German writers.

Salvo's restriction of his book to the debate of 1870–75 limits its value. The theoretical issues are known. What matters is the context that gave them pressing relevance in the 1870s and following decades. No attention is given, however, to whether the debate contributed to the fall of the *destra* in 1876 or how it threatened the entrenched bastion of free-trade agriculturalists and financiers. Although a congress of social scientists in Palermo in 1875 dem-

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onstrated the predominance of liberal economics, defections of liberals like Marco Minghetti soon followed. Opponents of free trade included industrialists like Alessandro Rossi, who supported protective tariffs while rejecting any other state interference. In contrast, Luigi Luzzatti sought throughout his parliamentary career to implement Cusumano's ideals by legislation regulating working hours and conditions, establishing postal savings banks, and the like. Here lay the substance of the ethical role that Cusumano would assign to the state. Thus the political and social dimensions of the theoretical debate are missing from Salvo's account. His decision to stop in 1875 omits the significance of his subject for Italy's subsequent history.

MARION S. MILLER
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SERGIO SOAVE. *Cultura e mito dell'autonomia: La Chiesa in Valle d'Aosta, 1900–1948*. Milan: Franco Angeli Editore. 1979. Pp. 151. L. 5,000.

Ever since Italy became a nation in 1860, its ruling elites have struggled with demands from all parts of the peninsula for various types of regional autonomy. The geographically isolated but strategically located Valle d'Aosta was one center of regionalist agitation, and Sergio Soave gives a detailed analysis of the role of the Catholic clergy and laity in the regionalist movement there in the twentieth century to the moment when the central government finally made some minor concessions to the autonomists. This is a tale worth telling, for the Church was the dominant cultural and social institution in this devout, traditionalist region, and its central role in the development and frustration of the Aostan regional autonomy movement has not been sufficiently appreciated in previous studies, such as those of Bernard Janin and Ernest Weibel.

In filling this gap, Soave has made effective use of recently opened government and diocesan archives. The picture that emerges from these sources is of a Church that was seriously divided and more than a little opportunistic in its support of the autonomists. In the liberal era from 1860 to 1915, the local clergy, with the blessing of the Vatican, helped to revive and nourish the autonomy movement as a counterweight to the anticlerical central government in Rome. When the Fascists seized power and made significant concessions to the Church on the national level, the Vatican effectively abandoned its regionalist programs and pressured the Aostan Church into a more sympathetic stance toward the antiautonomist policies of Mussolini's government. As Fascist power waned after 1940, the Church, both local and national, once more saw merit in regionalism, partly out of fear that post-Fascist governments would be Communist dominated. Clergymen like Joconde Stevenin provided important leadership for the revived autonomist movement after 1945, but this could not conceal "the politically defensive and socially conservative nature of a regionalism that discarded fertile cultural values in favor of predominantly administrative measures" (p. 80).

In the light of this indictment, it is all the more disappointing that Soave provides so little serious discussion of the cultural assumptions of the autonomists, the specific measures they promoted, or how the Church hoped to relate its own cultural and ideological traditions to those of the autonomists. If the Catholic regionalist culture of the nineteenth century was still a vital foundation for the movement of the twentieth (a controversial proposition, that) this culture deserves more profound analysis than it receives in this little book.

RICHARD L. CAMP
California State University, Northridge

ELIZA CAMPUS. *The Little Entente and the Balkan Alliance*. Translated by DELIA RĂZDOLESCU. (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Studies, number 59.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1978. Pp. 207. 10 L.

This is a brief factual account of the history of the Little and Balkan Ententes by a Rumanian Marxist historian. The Little Entente was formed by Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, which concluded a series of bilateral treaties in 1920–1921, to enforce the observance of the Trianon peace treaty by Hungary and prevent the restoration of the Habsburgs. In 1933, under the impression of Hitler's rise to power in Germany, the three states replaced the bilateral treaties with a single pact, which provided for the creation of a permanent council to coordinate their policies. They hoped that by combining their strength they could check the revisionist demands not only of Hungary but also of the great powers. In this they were mistaken, however. In 1938 when the status quo powers, France and Britain, joined revisionist Germany and Italy in dismembering Czechoslovakia, its Little Entente partners helplessly looked on. Similarly, the Balkan Entente, which was created by Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece, and Turkey on the model of the Little Entente in 1934, was effective in maintaining the status quo in the Balkans against Bulgaria's revisionist claims but helpless against the great powers.

The Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, and Rumanian Communists used to denounce the Little Entente as

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a reactionary tool of the nefarious French policy of blocking Soviet influence in Europe with a *cordon sanitaire* until 1935, when the Soviet Union concluded an alliance with France, and the Comintern instructed the Communist parties to adopt "popular-front" policies. Afterwards they took a friendlier view of the Little Entente.

Since the communization of Rumania after World War II, its foreign policy problem has not basically changed. It is still to guard against Soviet designs on its sovereignty and independence and Hungarian claims on its territory. Basing herself on President Nicolae Ceauşescu's statements to this effect, the author has taken a very positive view of the Little and Balkan Ententes' historical role. She extolls the two organizations for making a great contribution to the upholding of the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of peace and stability in Central and Southeastern Europe between the two world wars. Her study, which is based almost exclusively on the Rumanian Foreign Ministry's unpublished documents, makes it possible to trace the history of the Little and Balkan Ententes with greater precision than before but adds little that is entirely new to the existing literature on the subject. The work greatly suffers from the poor—often grotesque—English in which it is written.

VICTOR S. MAMATEY
University of Georgia

DJOKO SLIJEPČEVIĆ. *Jugoslavija uoči i za vreme Drugog Svetskog Rata* [Yugoslavia on the Eve of and during the Second World War]. Munich: "Iskra" Verlag und Druckerei. 1978. Pp. 816.

World War II is a crucial period in the history of Yugoslavia and an extremely controversial one in its historiography. It was an era of intrigue, war, civil war, and revolution, leading to the establishing of a Communist state by the victorious Tito and his Partisans. The divergent interpretations in the existing historical literature dealing with these events reflect their complexity and continuing obscurity. But, one hopes, each new study broadens our knowledge and understanding.

Djoko Slijepčević's lengthy volume on wartime Yugoslavia opens with several trenchant introductory chapters on prewar foreign policy and internal politics. In this initial third of the book, whole chapters are devoted to the Croatian question, the Tripartite Pact, and the coup d'état of March 27, 1941, and its ramifications. Slijepčević then surveys the various fragments of partitioned Yugoslavia and the impact of the early stages of the war on them. He concentrates on General Milan Nedić's Serbia while devoting less coverage to Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and almost totally neglecting Macedonia and Kosovo. He is at his best in his detailed appraisal of Nedić's Serbia, which he hails as the "refuge of persecuted Serbs" and the "guardian of Serbdom."

The majority of the second half of the book is devoted to an examination of the Yugoslav resistance movements. Slijepčević writes favorably about the Chetniks and their leader, Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović, but condemns the Partisans as a Communist conspiracy primarily interested in destroying their non-Communist rivals to gain control of postwar Yugoslavia. Partisan-German prisoner exchanges and limited armistice negotiations, detailed by Walter R. Roberts in his *Tito, Mihailović and the Allies, 1941–1945* (1973) and expanded upon by Milovan Djilas in *Wartime* (1977), are equated with Chetnik collaboration with the Italians. But he is perhaps hardest on the Croatian Ustaše, extending his condemnation of their wartime atrocities, especially those against the Serbs (while almost ignoring those carried out by the latter), to the activities of the postwar émigré terrorists.

In addition to its obvious Serb-Chetnik bias, this study also suffers from several other shortcomings, the most significant of which is the insertion of often tedious discussions that go beyond scholarly exposition and explanation into justification. Although the bibliography reflects the extensive research that went into this book, major Western secondary works like Roberts's study seem somehow to have been overlooked. This volume also is riddled with annoying typographical errors. Yet, despite its flaws, Slijepčević's book does make a contribution to the growing literature in the field, specifically with its sometimes deeply insightful observations on Serbia. But the difficult, seemingly impossible task of writing an integrated study of World War II in Yugoslavia still remains.

DENNIS REINHARTZ
University of Texas, Arlington

STELLA ALEXANDER. *Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945.* (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xxi, 351. $34.50.

The Christian Church began to be removed from the center stage of European politics in the sixteenth century, but in Yugoslavia this process did not achieve any momentum until World War II. It was Tito's new regime that appropriated Church lands, secularized education, and made marriage an exclusively civil contract. The passage of time has attenuated emotions of secularization in other Eu-

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ropean lands, but in Yugoslavia there are still many for whom the events surrounding the Communist efforts to break the strong connection between religion and nationalism by separating the Church from the state are still alive. It is to Stella Alexander's credit, therefore, that in this pioneering book on church and state in Yugoslavia since 1945 she has treated extremely emotional questions with such an even hand. Alexander has not written an elegant or graceful book, but she has compensated for this with a low key, cautious treatment of issues that still incite some people to assassination and bomb throwing.

Take the case of Archbishop, later Cardinal, Stepinac. Certain Croatian émigrés remain outraged at the 1946 sentence of Stepinac to house arrest in his village. Alexander gives extended summaries of the prosecution and defense arguments, as well as many other statements and positions of Stepinac and other churchmen during World War II. She does not hide Stepinac's strengths, which included considerable personal dignity, but neither does she gloss over his many serious lapses of judgment during the war. There is little question that Stepinac was much more an opponent of the Communists than of Pavelić and that the church he led never was able to take a forthright stand against the massacre of Orthodox Serbs. The reader will find it easy to understand Stepinac's virtues but difficult to fault the winners of the Yugoslav civil war for taking action against him. Alexander gives an equally clear and dispassionate, almost boring, account of an emotional Serbian issue as well, the schisms that rent the postwar Serbian Orthodox Church, controversies also still bitterly contested in some circles.

If the book has a fault, it derives from Alexander's efforts to stay as fair as possible by restricting herself to a factual account she can verify from the sources at her disposal. As far as a nonspecialist can tell, she has done this very well. But this approach also restrains her from broaching larger issues, such as secularization as a European historical phenomenon or the possible long-term effects of the Communist policies on the relationship between religion and nationality in Yugoslavia. Lack of discussion of such points makes the epilogue a rather bland and feckless ending to the book. But, as Alexander herself says, she intends the book as "a preliminary study," in which the reader "may find new facts . . . but few surprises." Given the volatility of the issues involved, her success in achieving this goal is admirable enough in itself.

GALE STOKES
Rice University

VALENTIN AL. GEORGESCU and PETRE STRIHAN. *Judecata domnească în ţara românească şi Moldova (1611–1831).* Part 1, *Organizarea judecătorească*, volume 1, *(1611–1740)* [Princely Justice in Wallachia and Moldavia (1611–1831). Part 1, Judicial Organization, volume 1, (1611–1740)]. Summary in French. (Biblioteca Istorică, number 49.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1979. Pp. 218. 17 L.

This is the first volume of four on judicial organization and procedure in the Rumanian principalities between 1611 and 1831. The time span embraces the evolution of princely legal institutions in the tributary seventeenth century, the phanariot eighteenth century, and the transitional period up to 1831, when the introduction of the *Règlement organique* significantly altered the Rumanian system. The authors attempt to answer the following basic questions: (1) who and what each organ or person judges; (2) how judgments are arrived at; and (3) who or what benefits from the decisions. These questions are discussed and answered in chapters on the powers, functions, role, and limitations of those exercising legal authority: the prince; the princely council; high administrators; and exceptional judicial and political organs. Though this implies a focus on the individual parts of the system, the book does give sufficient emphasis to the judicial "culture" and structure in which various people and bodies functioned, including specific chapters on the conditions of judicial operation and on justice under foreign occupations.

The book stresses a number of points. The ultimate authority or power of the ruling prince vis-à-vis his subjects (not citizens) provides a context for the discussion of other institutions. At the same time, due regard is given to the kind of "pluralism" that existed in feudal systems. The constantly shifting place and role of judicial procedures in the Rumanian system are also emphasized. These last two points result from the less than systematic nature of medieval Rumanian institutional evolution and from the diverse legal heritage of the region (Roman, Justinian, Byzantine, canonic).

The study also shows, contrary to some earlier assertions, that Byzantine law had a strong formative impact on Rumanian legal development, becoming itself part of the native tradition. An important contrast to Western legal systems is that a thorough synthesis of legal traditions and elements did not occur in the principalities until between 1765 and 1831, when circumstances contributed to an excessive "stifling" of local customary law. The result, however, was still distinctly national in character.

Overall, the descriptive effort of the book is more useful than the interpretive because of the attempt to force the latter into a predetermined framework relating economic and legal development. This is less forced than is often the case, however. Because the authors consciously sought to establish a basis

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for a complete history of Rumanian legal institutions and law, both prior to 1611 and subsequent to 1831, the book is very schematically organized. Although this contributes to making a less than scintillating topic even less engrossing, it greatly facilitates the use of the work as reference, presumably its main value. It also is welcome because it helps one approach the very untidy institutional history of the medieval and early modern Rumanian Principalities in a reasonable fashion.

The book includes an outstanding bibliography and valuable notes. The resumé in French is a helpful addition.

PAUL E. MICHELSON
Huntington College

DUMITRU VITCU. *Diplomaţii unirii* [The Diplomats of the Union]. (Biblioteca Istorică, number 51.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1979. Pp. 250. 22 L.

This volume contains biographical sketches of several Rumanian diplomats engaged in the making of the Rumanian state from 1848 to 1866. Recognizing that his theme is hardly novel, Dumitru Vitcu seeks to complete and assess available information concerning Rumanian diplomacy before and after national unification. In selecting his dramatis personae, the author virtually ignores ministers of foreign affairs (except Vasile Alecsandri who served in 1859–60 and Dumitru Brătianu in 1859) as well as the ruling prince of the United Principalities, Alexandru Ion Cuza. Instead, he focuses on Rumanian diplomats abroad in order to illustrate the successes and failures of Rumanian policy in the European corridors of power.

In an introductory chapter Vitcu summarizes the political antecedents of union (1848–59) and describes the patient and courageous unofficial activities of some Rumanian émigrés in achieving national objectives. Then, in the following seven chapters, he characterizes the lives of seven diplomats: four Moldavians—the polymath V. Alecsandri in Paris, the resolute Costache Negri in Constantinople, the prudent Ioan Alecsandri in Paris, as well as the sincere Teodor Callimachi in Belgrade—and three Wallachians—the patriotic D. Brătianu in London, the ambitious but devious Ion Bălăceanu in Italy and France, and the honest Ludovic Steege in Vienna. There is no concluding chapter in which these careers might have been compared.

Vitcu's organization is somewhat uneven. On the one hand, three-fourths of the text is on the years 1848–66, about equally divided between the period preceding unification (1859) and the post-union years until Cuza's abdication (1866). On the other hand, the biographical chapters do not mesh chronologically. Three-fourths of the chapter on Brătianu (1818-92) covers the years *before* 1859, while over three-fourths of the pages devoted to Callimachi (1836–8?) and Ioan Alecsandri (1826-84) are on the years *after* 1859. Moreover, Vitcu completely overlooks several of his diplomats (Ioan Alecsandri, Steege, and Callimachi) in the introduction, while one of them (Callimachi) receives no mention other than in his respective chapter.

Most of Vitcu's references are to published works in Rumanian and French. Less than 5 percent of his footnotes indicate manuscript materials, most of which are deposited in the Biblioteca Academiei R.S.R. The author's account might have been enriched by consulting documents in the state archives and ministry of foreign affairs archives in Bucharest. Despite his shortcomings, Vitcu has taken an important step in examining some illustrious as well as some half-forgotten, albeit worthy, Rumanian statesmen. One hopes he will continue this endeavor and provide additional studies of Rumanian diplomats in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

FREDERICK KELLOGG
University of Arizona

MIRCEA IOSA and TRAIAN LUNGU. *Viaţa politică în România, 1899–1910* [Political Life in Rumania, 1899–1910]. Bucharest: Editura politică. 1977. Pp. 293. 12 L.

In this recent addition to the Political Publishing House's series on Rumanian politics, Mircea Iosa and Traian Lungu examine the changes that took place within the country's governmental circles during the first decade of this century. The authors hold that these years were marked by a significant power displacement in the higher echelons of both major political parties and, more importantly, the further isolation of the Conservatives and National Liberals from the mainstream of Rumanian society.

By the turn of the century, Rumania's two principal political organizations began to experience difficult growing pains as new leaders replaced the men who had guided the nation since independence. In the case of the Conservatives, a serious rift emerged within the party over the question of a successor to Lascăr Catargiu, after his death in 1899. The members split their allegiance among three men, Gheorghe Cantacuzino, Petru Carp, and Take Ionescu. Disagreements prevented the Conservatives from forming a solid coalition; cabinets formed but they lacked cohesion, a fact that, on the surface, appeared to work in favor of the National Liberals. The latter, however, were plagued by changes within their own party structure. The old guard, represented by Dimitrie Sturdza, slowly lost its position of leadership to the more opportunistic Brătianu faction. By 1910, this younger group

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would dominate the party. Although the political infighting among the National Liberals was less vitriolic than the quarrels that crippled their opposition, this transitional period of power struggle hampered the party's effectiveness throughout the decade.

In addition to the problems within each party, this political instability, the authors contend, also stemmed from the economic difficulties facing Rumania and the fact that the political organizations represented the interests not of the Rumanian people but rather of only a narrow section of the population. In a time of economic crisis such as the one Rumania faced during these years, the political leaders paid lip service to the need for action but formulated no real program to alleviate such problems as agrarian pressures and the burden of foreign debts. The few changes enacted by the various cabinets affected only the middle and upper classes in a positive manner. The government was isolated from the majority of the people, a fact that Iosa and Lungu believe led to the 1907 peasant revolt and the radicalization of the labor force.

Taken as a whole, the book is a useful contribution to Rumanian historiography. The appendix alone, which lists the numerous cabinet changes between 1899 and 1910, makes the work valuable. It is therefore unfortunate that the overall effect of the study is diminished by a preoccupation with trying to prove that the era marked the foundation of workers' consciousness in Rumania. Iosa and Lungu devote an inordinate amount of space to labor's "struggle" and continually break the narrative to describe the response of the different socialist and worker parties to events in the country; the size and influence of these organizations, however, are never assessed. Secondly, unlike other volumes in the series, the book fails to examine the character of the electoral process, save for the mere mention of certain elections and a movement toward universal manhood suffrage. Thirdly, the relationship between the nation's political factions and foreign affairs receives only cursory attention. Finally, the work suffers from the lack of a bibliography.

Despite these drawbacks, *Viaţa politică* is a welcome addition to the study of Rumanian politics. It not only is one of the few sources available on the topic, but it also provides an interesting perspective on the evolving nature of the political scene at the turn of the century. Therefore, it is to be hoped that, as with a number of its predecessors in the series, a Western-language edition will appear shortly.

RICHARD FRUCHT
Northwest Missouri State University

BENNETT KOVRIG. *Communism in Hungary: From Kun to Kádár.* (Histories of Ruling Communist Parties. Hoover Institution Publication, number 211.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 1979. Pp. xviii, 525. $10.95.

Miroslav Krleža once observed that in Eastern Europe national consciousness is made up of blood, nightmares, and fear. His observation contains more than a kernel of truth as far as twentieth-century Hungary is concerned, and Bennett Kovrig's excellent volume certainly reflects that truth. It is a volume that recounts the blood, the nightmare, and the fear that have gripped Hungary for the last six decades and the amelioration of which has been only possible for such short periods of time.

That the Communist Party from its inception has contributed amply to all of the above components cannot be doubted. It partook in imparting fear and making a nightmare for many in 1919 when the insignificant and minute party, originally founded in Moscow, suddenly was thrust to power in a vacuum when others dared not come forth. And it meted it out again between 1948 and 1955 when the terror of Rakosi wreaked havoc on a population cowed to submission by the guns wielded by thugs.

That the Communist Party alone was not to be blamed for all the horrors, of course, is also made clear in Kovrig's fine book: Horthy's early years of terror and the rule of the Hungarian fascists, the Arrow Cross men, have also added their bits to the nightmare and fear that have gripped a nation. The Soviet tanks, too, that came crushing down upon the barricades on the night of November 4, 1956, were not driven by *Hungarian* Communists; lest the world forget, they were aimed *against* a Communist head of state, Imre Nagy.

And that the Communist Party can also claim successes on both the economic and social fronts is also shown distinctly in this book. Kádár's rule since 1956 has been marked by a conscious effort to improve the economic and social well-being of a once sullen population through the creation of a consumer-oriented economy. By giving in to demands for limited freedoms, Kádár and his regime defused the issue of legitimate versus illegitimate rule and stilled the clamor for independence that his regime cannot offer to the people.

Kovrig's volume, a part of the series dealing with the history of the ruling Communist parties under the editorship of Richard F. Staar, takes the chronological approach and deals with Hungarian history in six parts: from the formation of the socialist movement to 1919; 1919–44; 1944–48; 1948–55; 1955–57; 1957–63; and from 1963 to the present. His divisions are logical and not absolute; conceptually he is correct in breaking down the history in this manner.

The most interesting portion of the book, for this

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reviewer, is the last part of the volume, where the author deals with the contemporary development of Kádár's policies, the zigs and zags of his course as he tries to modernize both Hungary and the apparatus necessary to rule the country. It is a lucid, well-written, and thorough analysis, a summary both of the modernization and legitimation process and of the most pragmatic rule Hungary has ever experienced.

Kovrig's shortcomings are relatively few and perhaps are matters of interpretation. Moscow's decisions to go slowly and act carefully in 1945 and their reversal of the policy in 1947 are stressed somewhat minimally, and local events are treated almost as if they were occurring in a vacuum. People, somewhat disembodied and stripped of personal characterizations, are hidden behind details of activities; perhaps this is scholarly, but at times it tends toward tedium. All in all, Kovrig's excellent book fills a void in the literature and will become a standard textbook for those studying the history of twentieth-century Hungary and the history of Communism in the heart of Europe.

IVAN VOLGYES
University of Nebraska

DOROTHEA E. EL MALLAKH. *The Slovak Autonomy Movement, 1935–1939: A Study in Unrelenting Nationalism.* (East European Monographs, number 55.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1979. Pp. xvi, 260. $16.00.

The wheels of change in historiography turn slowly, to the discomfiture of those who champion new conceptions and causes and who want to see them incorporated in the historiographical mainstream. The question of Slovakia has been one of these causes. From the time of the emergence of the new Eastern Europe at the end of World War I, the history of the Czechs and Slovaks has largely been told through the eyes of the Czechs; the Slovaks have barely been visible in our historical perceptions. The murmurs of dissent against this have been audible for many years, but usually they have come from émigrés outside the historical profession and have born, all too obviously, the mark of special pleading. It was thus easy to ignore them. Any attempt to do justice to the Slovak historical identity was further complicated by the fact that the champions of this identity have spoken through a multitude of tongues. Catholics, conservative Protestants, liberal Protestants, Marxists, liberal Marxists, émigrés—all have tried to get into the act, each group proferring its own version of Slovak history. It is only recently that professionalism has begun to tame the passions of ideological commitment; it may be hoped that this will clear the way to a historiographical dialogue out of which a new conception of Slovak history will emerge, one that will be distinctly Slovak and at the same time will respect the facts of history.

Every such conception will have to come to terms with the Slovak People's Party, a party of political Catholicism and the moving spirit of Slovak national identity and Slovak nationalism in modern times. It is the merit of Dorothea E. El Mallakh's volume that, in carefully measured but clear tones, she drives this point home. The most significant conclusion of hers is that the Slovak People's Party was "the largest and most defined political movement in Slovakia" (p. 147)—a fact historians have thus far failed to appreciate, hiding as they did behind the fact that that party did not receive over 50 percent of Slovak votes. Historians have likewise failed to realize that the influence of the Slovak People's Party extended far beyond its own immediate political ambience. Many Slovaks who declined to vote for the party on general ideological grounds nevertheless agreed with its demands for autonomy within the Czechoslovak state; the author plausibly estimates that, during the interwar period, from 50 to 75 percent of Slovaks favored a movement for autonomy (p. 65). Having moved the People's Party to center stage, the author can ask some new, probing questions. Thus, she wants to know whether the democratic element in the party would have been decisively strengthened, had the Czechs been more hospitable to Slovak demands (p. 81). She does not seriously try to answer the question, nor could she hope to do so without examining the continuities of Slovak political culture as they began to take shape in the early decades of the nineteenth century. These continuities, I believe, suggest that the answer would be in the negative: elements of a liberal democracy tended to be, historically, on the margin rather than in the mainstream of Slovak political culture.

What of the shortcomings? One wishes that a book that makes such important points had been more carefully edited. In its present form, the book is a potpourri of perceptive observations, thumbnail biographical sketches, and chronological leaps and bounds. Although published in 1979, it appears to have been completed in about 1968, and indeed its bibliography contains hardly any items published after that date. The two notable omissions are L'ubomír Lipták's seminal *Slovensko v 20. storočí* (1968) and Samo Faltan's *Slovenská otázka v Československu* (1968). There are twenty-one appendixes, most of them statistical. The categories in appendix K are inadequately defined and their relationship to the appendix immediately preceding is not clear. Good editing might have taken care of all this. These lacunae are compensated for, to a consid-

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erable extent, by the archival source base. In preparing her study, the author was able to consult the unpublished pre-1939 police reports on the People's Party. To read excerpts from them is something of a treat, and they lend a special value to the work.

STANLEY Z. PECH
University of British Columbia

HALINA KOZŁOWSKA-SABATOWSKA. *Ideologia pozytywizmu galicyjskiego, 1864–1881* [The Ideology of Galician Positivism, 1864–81]. Summary in German. (Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, number 43.) Wrocław: Ossolineum. 1978. Pp. 187. 45 Zł.

Although Polish positivism took different forms in Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Poland, it reflected and in part shaped the Polish reality of the post-January 1863 decades. Polish positivists generally rejected or ignored the romantic notions of revolution and sacrifice to achieve national independence. They recognized the superiority of industrial civilization and advocated a rational, utilitarian, empirical attitude toward life. Using extensive Polish archival and published sources, Halina Kozłowska-Sabatowska conscientiously investigates the rise, zenith, and rapid decline of Polish positivism in theory and practice in Austrian Galicia, 1864–81.

In five chapters, three of which are rather lengthy and unwieldy, the author deals successively with the reception of positivist ideas in provincial Galicia; with the Galician positivists' internal polemical struggles over the Polish national question and the romantic traditions of revolution and sacrifice for national independence; and with the difficulties faced by the positivists when they attempted to define the nature of organic work and to relate it successfully to concrete political, social, and economic issues. A brief introduction precedes the body of the text. A useful summary in German is appended. Copiously footnoted, the monograph lacks a bibliography, and the index, limited to surnames, is inadequate.

The author identifies a small number of positivists in Austrian Galicia and divides them into two generations. She identifies the dominant, older, more cohesive generation, that is, the Cracow positivists, as conservative, loyal, and attached to Catholicism. Their antagonists were the avant garde, younger, unorganized, democratic, anticlerical generation located primarily in Lvov. She uses the conflict of generations as an explanatory device, enumerates generational differences, analyzes the polemical confrontations of representative individuals on a number of divisive issues, and offers a painstakingly detailed explanation of why a cohesive positivist ideology and program failed to develop in Austrian Galicia.

The point is made repeatedly that time-consuming polemical confrontations between the generations precluded only to an extent the development of a practical, effective program of organic work. Other, rather formidable political, social, and economic obstacles to the success of a program of organic work existed. Positivists were few and divided, but even under ideal circumstances, the program of organic work was inadequate to resolve such problems as the peasant question, the emanicpation of women, and the Ukrainian and Jewish questions. As a result, positivism never triggered a full-fledged movement in Austrian Galicia. By 1881, its younger proponents moved either to the conservative right dominated by the Cracow group or to the political left where socialism superseded positivism as a more significant and powerful force for change.

This reader was frequently overwhelmed by the author's indiscriminate inclusion of unidentifiable personages, newspapers, and periodicals in the text. Nevertheless, this is a careful, original, and thoughtful study of a long-neglected subject. It provides valuable information to the specialist.

JOAN S. SKURNOWICZ
Loras College

NORMAN M. NAIMARK. *The History of the "Proletariat": The Emergence of Marxism in the Kingdom of Poland, 1870–1887.* (East European Monographs, number 54.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1979. Pp. xvii, 329. $18.00.

The Polish socialists of the 1870s and 1880s are seminal figures in the history of both Polish political thought and European socialism. Both the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and Communist Party trace their origins directly to them; and, as Norman M. Naimark demonstrates in his epilogue, the socialists of the 1870s and 1880s also contributed to the formation of two other major trends in modern Polish politics, national democracy and populism. To the historian of socialism, they appear almost as Bolsheviks before the Bolsheviks, combining the fighting spirit of contemporary Russian revolutionaries with the ideological perspectives of Central European Marxism; and they initiated the sophisticated Polish Marxist tradition that has produced theoreticians of the highest intellectual caliber, from Rosa Luxemburg to the apostate Leszek Kołakowski.

Given all this, and given, too, that many of these early socialists died martyrs for their cause, it is understandable that the historical literature concerning them is distinctly hagiographical. It is to Naimark's credit, therefore, that he has produced the most dispassionate and analytical account of the

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first Polish Marxists. His book discusses the socialist circles in Russian schools and in the Congress Kingdom, 1876–81, ideological developments in Galicia and Switzerland, 1878–81, and the activities of the "Proletariat" party, 1882–86; an epilogue surveys the subsequent evolution of Polish political thought.

The high point of Naimark's analysis is his isolation of factors leading to the emergence of Polish Marxism. Philosophically, the ground was cleared by the relentless materialism of Warsaw Positivism. Spiritually, the intense Russification in 1879–86 provoked hatred for tsarism and a disposition to rebellion among the young Polish intelligentsia. Socially, the timing and peculiarities of the industrial revolution in the Congress Kingdom favored Marxist politics; in particular, the proletarianization of the gentry and its partial incorporation into the industrial working class gave Poland a more politically conscious proletariat than existed in Russia proper.

Although there are other contributions that Naimark makes (a revisionist look at Polish-Russian relations among the revolutionaries, a discussion of the motives behind "Proletariat's" terrorism, a collective biography of Polish socialists), his book also has its flaws. He does not explain the national nihilism ("dogmatic internationalism") of his socialists, except for a footnote listing three "reasons . . . , none of which are satisfactory in themselves" (p. 276, n. 38). There is much room for disagreement—though not in a brief review—with aspects of his interpretation. For instance, Naimark links "Proletariat's" terrorism to "the Polish working class's acceptance of terror" (p. 183), which is questionable, especially considering that "workers' groups . . . wanted nothing to do with a terrorist underground organization" (p. 303, n. 45). The book also contains its share of factual errors. Just on one page, for example, Naimark describes Edward Dembowski as "the leader of the bloody Galician peasant revolution of 1846" and tells us that "Piłsudski the dictator" still advocated the "identification of socialism and patriotism" (p. 3). One wishes the study were free of such blunders and the arguments tighter, but it is nonetheless an enlightening and thought-provoking analysis of the inception of Polish Marxism.

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA
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STANISŁAW KALABIŃSKI, editor. *Polska klasa robotnicza: Zarys dziejów*. Volume 1, part 3, *Lata 1870–1918: Śląsk, Wielkopolska i Pomorze, Galicja, Śląsk Cieszyński, Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Niemczech, Kultura i obyczaje robotników* [The Polish Working Class: An Outline of Its History. Volume 1, part 3, The Years 1870–1918: Silesia, Great Poland and Pomerania, Galicia, Cieszyn Silesia, Polish Emigrants Employed in Germany, Workers' Culture and Customs]. Warsaw: PWN. 1978. Pp. 896. 120 Zł.

This volume in the series *The Polish Working Class* consists of six long articles on the state of the Polish industrial worker in the period 1870 to 1914. The various authors deal with Silesia; the Duchy of Poznan, Pomerania, and sections of western Prussia; Galicia; Cieszyn; Polish worker emigration to Germany; and the cultural life of the working class. The Congress Kingdom is alluded to only in passing as the source of migrant labor to Galicia and Prussian Poland. This work does not deal with the large agricultural laboring class but maintains an urban focus.

The authors attempt to be consistent in their description of the lives of workers. Wage scales, working hours, housing conditions, diet, insurance, the cost of living, education, and the social structure of the working class are examined region by region. Since these factors were all in a profound state of flux for most of the area under discussion, the many tables offer dramatic evidence of change, especially in Silesia, which was most deeply affected by industrialization and urbanization in this period. Data tend to become more detailed and reliable toward the turn of the century. Najdus (on Galicia) and Murzynowska (on migrant labor) are especially conscientious in pointing out possible distortions by nineteenth-century statisticians such as employment figures inflated or deflated by seasonal workers. Karwacki (on working-class culture) offers a departure from the other works in this volume. His sources are not Austrian and Prussian government figures but songs, poems, brochures, plays, novels, movies, and other leisure-time activities of the ever more literate, more educated, and better paid working class.

This volume offers an index of its 191 illustrations and photographs but none for its 179 tables. More seriously, it fails to offer a single bibliographical entry for any of its articles. Except for sporadic entries identifying the source of statistical tables or informal references in the text, the sources for this plethora of statistics are unavailable to the reader. Michalkiewicz (on Silesia) takes most of his tables (nine out of fifteen) from volume 211 of *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*; Wajda (on Pomerania, western Prussia, and the Duchy of Poznan) uses unidentified government sources for thirty-three tables; Najdus (on Galicia) offers an occasional note but leaves the sources for most of her sixty-four tables unidentified; Zając (on Cieszyn) also omits bibliographical information from his thirty tables. Murzynowska (on migrant labor) is much more conscientious and offers full bibliographic references but lists her previously published work for sixteen out of thirty-

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seven tables. Karwacki (on working-class culture) uses no tables and buries his references in the text. One is obviously confronted with a scholarly tradition that does not conform to familiar standards.

There is much of value in these six studies to social and labor historians. The authors appear consistent in supplying comparable statistical categories for the regions under discussion, making an informative and richly detailed text. The lack of references outlined above, however, makes it difficult to use this work as a source for further research.

EWA K. BACON
Wheaton, Illinois

GEORGE V. KACEWICZ. *Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the Polish Government in Exile (1939–1945).* (Studies in Contemporary History, number 3.) Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers; distributed by Kluwer Boston, Hingham, Mass. 1979. Pp. xv, 255. $28.00.

George V. Kacewicz of California State University is to be commended for writing the first English-language study of the Polish question in World War II. He writes with sympathy for the Polish Government in Exile, which can hardly be blamed for refusing to give up half of Poland without the population being consulted and without guarantees for either adequate compensation or postwar independence. He notes that government's willingness to "discuss" the eastern frontier in 1944 and castigates both Stalin's ruthlessness and the policy of concessions toward him adopted first by the British and then by the American government. It is not difficult to agree with him that no matter what the Polish government might have done, the final outcome could hardly have been different.

One can, however, take issue with his analysis of British policy and his use of sources. On the first point, it may well be that in 1941–43, Britain and the United States were in a position to extract from Stalin commitments to a really independent Poland. As far as Britain was concerned, however, the fear of a separate German-Soviet peace—whether realistic or not, is immaterial—was the dominant factor. After all, Churchill had vivid memories of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March 1918 and of the near disaster that followed on the western front. Britain had barely managed to survive in 1940 and Churchill did not want a repeat performance. This fear was strongly seconded, in Britain's policy toward Russia, by the traditional British view of the Polish-Russian frontier as approximating the eastern border of Congress Poland (1815–30). It was dignified by ethnographic arguments in 1919–20, even though most of the population east of it was not Russian but Ukrainian and Belorussian. Britain's traditional indifference to Eastern Europe (not "diffidence," [p. 219]) made it as easy to think of the region as a natural sphere of Russian influence as it had been to see it as a sphere of German influence. Privately, both Eden and Roosevelt believed that Russian strength would mean the imposition of Communist regimes in the region after the war, at least for a time. The object of British and American diplomacy was not to prevent this, but to find a face-saving formula for British and American public opinion.

The author lists an imposing array of sources, including British Cabinet Minutes and Papers, the Samuel and Templewood Papers, and the archives of the General Sikorski Historical Institute and Polish Museum, London. Of all these, however, he cites only one, the Raczynski file. It is worth noting that, according to the minutes of the Eden-Stalin conversation of December 16, 1941, Stalin proposed that Poland be given not only part of East Prussia but also territory up to the Oder River, a fact omitted in Eden's report and his memoirs (see Vojtech Mastny, *Russia's Road to the Cold War* [1979], p. 44, n. 24). Finally, the evolution of British views on Polish-Soviet relations and the future of Poland can be found in the Foreign Office files for this period.

ANNA M. CIENCIALA
University of Kansas

SEPPO MYLLYNIEMI. *Die baltische Krise, 1938–1941.* Translated from Finnish by DIETRICH ASSMANN. (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, number 38.) Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1979. Pp. 167. DM 19.80.

Seppo Myllyniemi's study of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian foreign policy decisions during the 1938–41 crisis focuses on three themes: the official commitment to remain neutral in an international armed conflict, a tendency to opt for German as opposed to Soviet military assistance, and an optimism about the ability to preserve and restore national sovereignty once the military conflict between the big powers had run its course.

As neutral countries, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declined the Soviet invitation to enter into a multilateral aid treaty unless Germany and Poland participated. Conversely, the Baltic states refused the German and Polish offer to share in their alliance. They also rejected the League of Nations' request to allow Soviet troop transportation through the Baltic territory. Admittedly, the neutrality policy eroded as the Soviets applied increasing pressure to make the Baltic states the outposts of Soviet security.

Increasingly the Baltic states leaned toward cooperation with Germany. During the Memel crisis, in 1939, Lithuania bowed to German military superi-

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ority. Estonian statesmen bargained for Germany's assistance should the Soviet Union attack. Conversely, they refused Soviet aid in case of Germany's aggression. Latvia's President Ulmanis and his Foreign Minister Munters both showed pro-German leanings, while the military leadership voiced willingness to enlist Soviet aid against the existing dictatorial regime.

In 1939 the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact gave the Soviet Union a free hand in the Baltic and thus sealed the fate of the neutrality policy. As the Soviet Union occupied air and naval bases in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, local statesmen remained optimistic. They maintained that the Soviet presence had not destroyed their national sovereignty nor had it encouraged pro-Soviet activities among the local Communists. Traces of optimism persisted even after the installation of pro-Soviet governments had taken place. A serious drive to free the Baltic states from Soviet control was launched only after the 1940 annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the Soviet Union. Then patriots at home and exiles abroad contrived to liberate their homelands in the wake of the imminent Soviet-German military confrontation.

This widely researched, easily readable German translation is a valuable addition to the scarce literature on the Baltic states' foreign policy. Relying on émigré literature and Finnish, Swedish, German, and British diplomatic reports, the author fails to dispel the small nations' image as playthings of big powers. The author's findings contradict also the pro-Soviet argument claiming a steady rapprochement between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union after the mid-1930s. He rather complements V. V. Šveics's thesis implying that the strength of small nations lies in their political not military potential.

Seppo Myllyniemi is also the author of another work dealing with the Baltic states, *Die Neuordnung der baltischen Länder, 1941–1944.*

SILVIA P. FORGUS
Appalachian State University

M. G. RABINOVICH. *Ocherki etnografii russkogo feodal'nogo goroda: Gorozhane, ikh obshchestvennyi i domashnii byt* [Essays on the Ethnography of the Russian Feudal Town: The Townspeople, Their Social and Domestic Life]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1978. Pp. 327. 1 r. 70 k.

M. G. Rabinovich has written an interesting and informative book on the town and its inhabitants in prerevolutionary Russia. Drawing both on archival and ethnographic material, the author presents a vivid and often entertaining picture of the origin and physical environment of the town (including early attempts at town planning), the various trades and occupations of the townspeople, their public activities, and their domestic life. A familiarity with Western literature enables Rabinovich to make frequent comparisons between the Russian and European town. The focus of the book is urban history broadly conceived, with particular emphasis on the material and spiritual culture of the people. Rabinovich's study is thus more in the tradition of I. E. Zabelin's *Domashnii byt russkogo naroda v XVI–XVII stoletiiakh* [The Domestic Life of the Russian People in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries] than M. N. Tikhomirov's classic *Drevnerusskie goroda* [The Towns of Ancient Rus'].

Although the book is based on solid scholarship and will therefore prove useful to the specialist, the wealth of new or little-known information that it contains makes fascinating reading even for the nonspecialist. One is surprised to learn, for example, that the Moscow Kremlin was almost dismantled in the reign of Catherine II (with the south wall actually torn down and then rebuilt); that "Potemkin villages" can be traced back to the early fifteenth century when Prince Iurii Dmitrievich of Galich, the pretender to the Muscovite throne, first used the scheme to impress the metropolitan of Moscow; that the midday nap was a Muscovite institution, one that was overlooked by the First False Dmitrii, casting further doubt on his identity; that a woman could use her husband's drunkenness as grounds for divorce, provided she could prove that he stole and bartered her clothes away for drink; that a teacher was paid not by the lesson but at the completion of a primer or reading book; that the rate of literacy was higher in Russia between the tenth and sixteenth centuries than in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Among the more revealing sections of the book is one devoted to Muscovite prisons. Particularly poignant is the author's account of the treatment of female prisoners who apparently were almost routinely raped by their guards. The lengthy description of the courtship and marriage rituals, though sometimes tedious, provides a rare glimpse at the urban version of this most joyous event in the life of the individual and the community.

The book's one weakness is the limited space devoted to the church and its role in the cultural life of the town. Nothing is said, for example, about some of the great urban monasteries with their splendid libraries. Overlooked also is the contribution of the monks to the history of medicine in pre-Petrine Russia. It was they who maintained the few existing hospitals. Aside from this, Rabinovich has done an admirable job of taking the reader on a well-guided tour of the Muscovite town and into the homes of some of its citizens.

RUSSELL ZGUTA
University of Missouri, Columbia

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IU. A. LIMONOV. *Kul'turnye sviazi Rossii s evropeiskimi stranami v XV–XVII vv.* [Russia's Cultural Ties with European Countries in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries]. Edited by V. I. BUGANOV. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Leningradskoe otdelenie. 1978. Pp. 270. 2 r.

This monograph is much more specialized than its rather general title would suggest. It is in fact a carefully documented but narrowly conceived survey of the sources used by a series of European writers who concerned themselves with the history of Rus'. Iu. A. Limonov is generally not dealing here with the more well-known travelers' accounts of Muscovy based on personal observation, but with specifically historical material based directly or indirectly on East Slavic chronicle sources. There are seven main chapters devoted to six European writers—Jan Długosz (1415–80), Maciej z Miechowa (1457–1523), Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566), Reinhold Heidenstein (1553–1620), Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), and John Milton (1608–1674). Each chapter is devoted to a separate work and includes a brief biographical sketch of the author, a survey of the history of the work in question, and a conclusion explaining in several paragraphs the principal sources on which the parts of it dealing with the history of Rus' were based. The vast bulk of each chapter is occupied by an episode-by-episode comparison of the given historical account with possible chronicle sources. The results of the book are summarized in a one-page conclusion accompanied by a useful diagram showing the sources and interrelations of the works considered.

The task the author sets himself demands not only a knowledge of these works, but also a thorough knowledge of the inbred complexities of chronicle-writing in Rus', a knowledge necessary in order to match the particular profile of events covered in the foreign history with the structure of one or more chronicles or chronicle compilations. This is clearly a strong point of Limonov, who has already published extensively on this chronicle tradition. His command of the repertory of East Slavic chronicles is indeed impressive, and he is able to trace the sources of his authors with remarkable precision. The most useful conclusions Limonov draws relate to this same subject—the evidence these foreign sources offer about now lost chronicles or chronicle compilations. Limonov, however, takes perhaps too rigid a view of the process of compilation. Where Długosz includes, for example, material from northern sources and a West Russian chronicle, Limonov assumes (pp. 93–96) that his source included both types of information and rejects the possibility that the author himself may have combined the two.

The book's most serious shortcomings, however, lie in what it fails to say rather than in what it says. In spite of the title, we find no discussion of how Western thought or information influenced Muscovite history-writing. Only the flow of information from the East to the West is discussed. Moreover, because of his narrow textological focus, the author does not compare the point of view or the historical methods of Muscovite or earlier East Slavic historians with the approach found in the works of the Western writers, many of whom were either humanists themselves or were clearly connected with humanists. The result is a book that hardly keeps readers on the edge of their chairs. One is painfully led episode by episode through a seemingly endless series of passages, with virtually no comments or generalizations to keep one's interest. Limonov has published much of this material before; the book is certainly a useful compilation of textological material, but it would have been more interesting and readable if the presentation of evidence had been compressed somewhat and the focus had been broadened.

DANIEL ROWLAND
University of Kentucky

L. I. NAROCHNITSKAIA. *Rossiia i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie na Balkanakh, 1875–1878 gg.: K stoletiiu russko-turetskoi voiny, 1877–1878 gg.* [Russia and the National Liberation Movement in the Balkans, 1875–78: In Commemoration of the Centennial of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1979. Pp. 142. 80 k.

This brief paperback celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the Russo-Turkish War summarizes military and diplomatic events and Russian aid to the Balkan liberation movement. L. I. Narochnitskaia uses a wide variety of Russian and Bulgarian primary and secondary sources, Russian newspapers, and recent Soviet studies but ignores Western scholarship. In this clear, succinct survey she breaks little new ground.

As is customary in Soviet scholarship, Narochnitskaia condemns the Ottomans for five centuries of tyranny, oppression, and persistent atrocities (p. 4). Russia's policies in the nineteenth century in the Balkans, though pursuing class aims, proved progressive because they undermined Ottoman rule. Meanwhile, West European powers were selfishly preserving and strengthening the Porte. The Balkan crisis, notes the author, split the Russian leadership. The heir and the empress favored war partly to weaken the revolutionary movement in Russia, but Alexander II and his ministers were opposed, realizing that army reforms were incomplete and that Russia was isolated diplomatically. The Russian public overwhelmingly supported the Slav insurgents—the five thousand Russian volunteers who went to Serbia expressed "the brotherly readiness of

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the Russian people to aid South Slav liberation" (p. 33). Fearful of this massive pro-Slav movement, St. Petersburg responded hesitantly, but late in 1876 it issued an ultimatum to the Porte and ordered partial mobilization. Russia entered war against Turkey reluctantly after making every honorable effort to avoid it.

Chapter 2 summarizes the Russo-Turkish War, stressing the role of Bulgaria and Russian aid in its liberation. Russia's backward military technology and incompetent high command are contrasted with the bravery of Russian troops and the skill of generals Gurko and Skobelev. As the Bulgarians welcomed the advancing Russians, "the movement of Bulgarian volunteers took on vast dimensions" (p. 73). Narochnitskaia (and other recent Soviet authors) suggests much greater Bulgarian participation in the Russo-Turkish War than does Western scholarship, but she says little about Rumania's important military contribution to Russian victory. Echoing other recent Soviet accounts, she contrasts Russia's noble role with Western selfishness: "Thus, while the Western powers sought in every way to hinder the further development of the national liberation struggle of the Balkan peoples, Russia despite its extreme exertions during the war gave great material aid to the allied principalities. This allowed them to continue the struggle for their liberation and to achieve victory" (p. 109). The result was to free all Bulgaria where "the liquidation of Turkish feudal landholdings constituted a social revolution" (p. 119). Russia and its allies had destroyed the Ottoman forces, but Russian leaders realized that war against England and Austria, which objected to the Russian Treaty of San Stefano, would bring defeat and perhaps revolution. Consequently, Russia had to accept the Treaty of Berlin, which proved detrimental to the Balkan peoples. Nevertheless, Ottoman oppression in most of the Balkans had been ended.

Narochnitskaia reiterates the major assertions of recent Soviet scholarship about Russia and the Eastern crisis: (1) Russia's role was "objectively progressive" in aiding Balkan national liberation; (2) the Russian masses supported that struggle enthusiastically; (3) Russia was forced to fight after the Western powers prevented a peaceful settlement; (4) the Bulgarians played a major role in their liberation; and (5) the Russo-Turkish War fostered Balkan freedom, undermined feudal Ottoman rule, and speeded the disintegration of tsarism.

DAVID MACKENZIE
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

PHILIP POMPER. *Sergei Nechaev*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 273. $18.00.

In his new biography of Sergei Nechaev (1847–82), Philip Pomper seeks to understand the career of this most bizarre of Russian revolutionaries with the aid of a methodology informed by psychology and psychoanalysis. Pomper's intent, however, goes beyond the strictly historical context of his subject; he believes that Nechaev represents a "type of leadership" that neither revolutionaries nor nations of any era can afford to tolerate. The book is comprehensive and is based upon all available archival documentation in the Soviet Union, Europe, and this country. Since the evidence is uneven, Pomper is able to construct a solidly documented narrative for only certain parts of Nechaev's life. Elsewhere, he is reduced, of necessity, to intelligent speculation. Some new information is provided (particularly on Nechaev's early years and his last years in prison), while other sections of the book repeat the more familiar terrain.

According to Pomper, Nechaev was motivated largely by a desire for martyrdom as well as revenge. The sufferings he experienced "were mainly psychological," but Pomper cautions against the tendency to dismiss Nechaev as "a sociopath or psychopath" (pp. 15–16). Instead, he prefers to see Nechaev as a victim "of both too little and too much superego, leading now to a sadistic, now to a masochistic ego-defensive strategy" (p. 18).

Nechaev's radicalism emerged in part as a response to the events of the 1860s, which influenced his entire generation. Pomper argues that, as a hungry, discontented youth from the provinces, "Nechaev inherited all of the expectations, hopes, schemes and techniques of the revolutionaries" of that decade (p. 48). He utilized this historical inheritance in a unique way, however, exploiting these social and political expectations for his own ends with skill and cunning.

Although Nechaev's writings are thin in both quantity and quality, Pomper does devote attention to those documents that he believes shed light on Nechaev's political thinking. One, called "A Program of Revolutionary Actions," is translated in full (pp. 56–59), although its authorship remains unclear, and Nechaev's connection to it is inferred rather than demonstrated. Regarding the controversial "Catechism of a Revolutionary," Pomper argues that this essay was a collaborative effort undertaken by Nechaev and Mikhail Bakunin. Pomper here challenges the recent work of Michael Confino, who has tried to prove that Nechaev was the sole author of the "Catechism."

This extremist document, together with Nechaev's responsibility for the assassination of one resisting member of his Moscow circle and his subsequent manipulation of Bakunin and other émigrés through lies and distortions, form the basis of what has come to be called "Nechaevism." Ulti-

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mately, Pomper returns to his basic thesis to interpret this political phenomenon: Nechaev "was a man full of rage, and whatever the positive content of his programs or his cause, his psychological makeup determined his choice of means" (p. 140). Pomper concludes that if Nechaev cannot be dismissed as a psychopath, he must nevertheless be understood as one. Unfortunately, the absence of substantial clinical evidence makes such an approach problematic. Furthermore, it seems excessive to claim that Nechaev was "a genuine forerunner of twentieth century dictators" (p. 219). Although the notion of "the politics of revenge" is interesting as an explanation of Nechaev's career, it is a questionable concept when applied either to an entire generation of revolutionaries or to dictatorial state leaders. What Pomper establishes quite effectively, however, is that Nechaev's career compels us to distinguish irrational behavior, posing as a form of radicalism, from authentic revolutionary endeavor.

MARTIN A. MILLER
Duke University

A. N. TSAMUTALI. *Bor'ba techenii v russkoi istoriografii vo vtoroi polovine XIX veke* [The Conflict of Tendencies in Russian Historiography in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century]. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Leningradskoe otdelenie. 1977. Pp. 256. 1 r. 80 k.

Even in the venerable Russian genre of *ocherki* (outlines, sketches, at best, essays), to which it clearly belongs, this book is something of a curiosity. The why and the wherefore of the consolidation of its disparate parts between two covers are far from clear, despite the occasional enunciation of the guiding theme signaled in the book's title: namely, the "struggle" between the dominant trend in Russian academic historiography of the second half of the nineteenth century—that of the "juridical school" and its epigones—and the "revolutionary-democratic" trend in historical thought.

In fact, the latter side of the equation in the "struggle" is hardly touched upon in this book. The omission is justified by the author on the grounds that the "revolutionary democrats" have been given their due in other works, including one of the author's own (*Ocherki demokraticheskogo napravleniia v russkoi istoriografii 60–70-kh gg. XIX v.* [1971]), which, some would agree, is true enough, but it leaves undemonstrated the only declared unifying thesis of the present book—that the main factor in the evolution of academic historiography over the second half of the nineteenth century was the challenge to its concepts coming from the "democrats." What we are left with is a discussion of certain relatively neglected elements in the development of academic historiography (the "democrats" for the most part were not professional historians), beginning with the 1840s when the foundations of the juridical school, which Tsamutali quite rightly sees as the wellspring of modern Russian historiography, were laid.

In the execution, the discussion is usually little more than extended paraphrases *cum* quotations, some of them nearly as long as the articles they are meant to summarize, and they usually simply follow the original exposition of argument, rather than dissecting and rearranging it for analytical purposes. In the last chapter (chapter 4, "The Main Tendencies in Russian Historiography at the End of the Nineteenth Century"), the weakest in the book, this "method" is abstracted one level: here we are presented with paraphrases and quotations from other scholars' opinions *about* the work of the historians ostensibly under consideration, and highly selective opinions at that. Thus, the discussion of the work of V. O. Kliuchevskii (in the opinion of many scholars and laymen, Russia's greatest historian) is almost entirely limited to a long paraphrastic rendition of a single (interesting) article by A. E. Presniakov. (Incidentally, only three historians of the late nineteenth century, when Russian historiography really came of age, are dealt with here: Kliuchevskii, Bestuzhev-Riumin, and Platonov. The works of the latter two are treated in most summary fashion.)

The book is nevertheless not without redeeming features. Anyone interested in the foundations of modern Russian historical scholarship will want to have a look at it and will probably learn a few things in the process. This is particularly true of the first chapter, in which the foundation documents of the juridical school and the Slavophile critique they engendered, all written in the 1840s, are discussed; it is true to a lesser degree of the next two chapters, in which the later evolution of the juridical school is reviewed. Tsamutali's treatment has none of the elegance and symmetry of Miliukov's classic essay on the juridical school (1886), but he does make a number of interesting observations—about the development of K. D. Kavelin's ideas, about Iu. F. Samarin's Slavophile conception of Russian history, about points of convergence in the views of the Westernizing "jurists" and the Slavophiles, about differences in views among the former (principally Kavelin, Chicherin, and Solov'ev)—and, most of all, he provides a sort of annotated bibliographical guide to the polemical essays of the period, most of them buried and long forgotten in the pages of the thick journals of the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. Tsamutali tells us enough about them or rather shows us enough of them to make us want to go back and look them up.

Tsamutali's book belongs to a growing body of

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historiographical scholarship coming out of Moscow, Leningrad, and Tomsk(!) over the last ten or fifteen years that is characterized by a more or less scrupulous return to the sources, in contrast to the tendentious laying down of "scientific" judgments with only passing reference to what was actually going on, which has been the predominant mode of Soviet historiographical writing.

TERENCE EMMONS
Stanford University

I. A. BAKLANOVA. *Rabochie Petrograda v period mirnogo razvitiia revoliutsii (mart-iiun' 1917 g.)* [The Workers of Petrograd during the Peaceful Development of the Revolution (March-June 1917)]. Edited by O. N. ZNAMENSKII. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Leningradskoe otdelenie. 1978. Pp. 191. 1 r. 50 k.

Despite the Petrograd working class's decisive role in toppling the tsarist autocracy in February 1917 and in bringing the Bolsheviks to power in October, little monographic research has been conducted in the USSR on the city's more than 400,000 industrial workers. Until the publication of the book under review, only one study (by Z. V. Stepanov) was dedicated exclusively to the Petrograd proletariat. Other works by B. M. Freidlin, L. S. Gaponenko, A. G. Egorova, Kh. M. Astrakhan, and G. L. Sobolev are more broadly focused and cover only particular aspects of the labor movement in the capital. With this in mind, the appearance of Iraida Alekseevna Baklanova's *Rabochie Petrograda v period mirnogo razvitiia revoliutsii (mart-iiun' 1917 g.)* is surely of interest.

The author, affiliated with the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of History, is best known in the West for her earlier book *Rabochie sudostroiteli v Rossii v XIX veke* (1959) and for her contribution in *Istoriia rabochikh Leningrada* (vol. 1, 1972). Her present monograph, which is comprised of three chapters, discusses the economic condition of the Petrograd workers and their efforts to satisfy their economic demands, the formation and functions of factory committees, and the creation of trade unions and their role in collective bargaining. In many respects, her book nicely complements G. L. Sobolev's recent work (see the review by Alexander Rabinowitch in the *AHR*, 81 [1976]: 1176–77) but is less successful in its argumentation and analysis.

Although exhaustively documented, Baklanova's book is more a rich compilation of facts than an analysis of their significance. Even by Soviet standards, she is an uninspired, cautious writer. The best parts of the monograph are sections devoted to the fall of real wages in the first half of 1917, the activities of conciliation boards (*primiritel'nye kamery*), and the issue of social insurance for workers. The greatest disappointment is the author's failure to trace convincingly the development of workers' consciousness. Her efforts pale particularly badly when compared with David Mandel's 1978 Columbia University Ph.D. dissertation "The Development of Revolutionary Consciousness Among the Industrial Workers of Petrograd between February and November 1917." Likewise, Baklanova makes no attempt to link economic difficulties to political crises such as the April Crisis or June demonstrations. She also neglects the response of local soldiers to workers' efforts to win the eight-hour workday.

By liberally riddling her account with hackneyed generalizations, the author has clouded over some interesting topics, especially the relationship between Petrograd industrialists and workers' organizations. Real cases of sabotage on the part of the industrialists lose their meaning as the good guys and bad guys fight it out. Apart from this, I doubt that the most popular books checked out by workers from the Promet factory library were *The History of the Paris Commune of 1871, The Communist Manifesto,* and, from among belles lettres, Ovid and collections of Russian poetry. If this indeed is the case, I wonder what else was available.

DONALD J. RALEIGH
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EDWARD HALLETT CARR. *The Russian Revolution: From Lenin to Stalin.* New York: Free Press. 1979. Pp. x, 191. $10.00.

After thirty years' work on his *History of Soviet Russia,* E. H. Carr has distilled the essence of its ten volumes into a handy compendium for the general reader. "Scarcely a sentence from the original work," he tells us, "appears unchanged in the new" (p. vii). It is as if Edward Gibbon had given us a pocket-sized *Decline and Fall*: a prodigious feat by any standard. Authoritative, succinct, and elegantly written, it will be a boon to students approaching Soviet history for the first time; if it leads some of them to refer back to the parent work, so much the better.

Those already familiar with the *History*, which covers the years 1917–29, will know roughly what to expect: a narrative that concentrates on political developments at the summit, the emergence of the planned economy, and foreign affairs. We learn relatively little about the cultural scene, national minorities, or indeed ordinary Soviet citizens' day-to-day struggle for survival under the unfamiliar conditons of "proletarian dictatorship." This is not because Carr lacks sympathy for their predicament, but because, having accepted the legitimacy of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary credentials, he is naturally inclined to regard their policies as well intentioned.

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The democratic socialists get short shrift: "When the civil war ended, there was no further basis for coalition or compromise" (p. 35). Why not? Surely such a basis *did* exist, but the will was lacking, notably on the Bolshevik side. Later we hear of Nepmen "spread[ing] their tentacles into every sector of the economy" and of Bukharin "wholeheartedly [upholding] a cult of the peasant" (pp. 52, 113). Despite Carr's erudition and praiseworthy concern for objectivity, some readers may feel that his vision of Soviet history is a little peculiar. This is partly because he relies so heavily on contemporary (mainly official) sources, to the neglect of recent scholarship. On the decline in state grain procurements between 1926 and 1929—an important question since it led Stalin to embark upon forced collectivization—Carr's data are still drawn from the "control figures" of 1930, although their accuracy has been challenged by J. F. Karcz and other Western specialists who have put forward alternative, less radical estimates of the drop. In fairness, Carr does recognize that the 1928 Shakhty affair "set a pattern for future . . . show trials" (p. 132)—a point not made in the *History*—and goes so far as to call Stalin a "ruthless despot" (p. 172). Yet he still believes that, despite Stalinism, the USSR made an advance toward socialism and attributes the errors and excesses largely to the country's legacy of underdevelopment. This is an inadequate, although commonly accepted, judgment. The roots of Soviet totalitarianism lie much deeper, in the thought and practice of Lenin and his intellectual forebears, perhaps even in the spiritual sickness of modern secular society. The conceptual framework employed here, which owes much to the Marxist notion of succeeding "bourgeois" and "proletarian" phases of revolution, reflects the optimistic certainties of an earlier age. Yet only a believer in man's ultimate rationality could have built such a towering scholarly monument as the *History of Soviet Russia*. In its shadow the rest of us are but pygmies.

JOHN KEEP
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GRAEME J. GILL. *Peasants and Government in the Russian Revolution*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1979. Pp. xiv, 233. $22.50.

In his preface, Graeme J. Gill defines the threefold purpose of his study to be: "to outline and explain the course of developments in the rural areas between February and October, 1917, to analyse the achievements and failures of the Provisional Government in the field of rural affairs, and to suggest what effect developments in the countryside had on the situation in the capital and the creation of conditions favorable for Lenin and the bolsheviks to seize power" (p. ix).

This is hardly an area untouched by other students of the Russian Revolution. Indeed, more detailed and comprehensive examinations of these issues and events are available, and given the immense complexity of the historical and social problems involved, one must wonder what the author hoped to accomplish that has not been done before. The result is an acceptable and workmanlike restatement of much that is generally believed to be true. The persistent failure of the Provisional Government either to formulate its policies clearly or to face up to its inability to implement them is examined in detail, and it does not come as a shock to learn that: "It was during the summer period from May to August that the die was cast for the Provisional Government; in the face of active peasant opposition the government could not last" (p. 131).

It has for too long been the custom of students of Russia to pontificate upon the Russian peasant (usually tossing Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Pole, Finn, or whatever into the same bin) and to accept the innumerable flimsy generalizations that inevitably result from attempts to develop clear abstractions about extremely variegated populations and conditions. These errors are repeated fulsomely in this book. We are told once again that the peasants' "vision was restricted to the established horizons of peasant life. Their world remained the world of village and custom" (p. 171). In part, and in some places, this was true, but peasants were also the factory workers in most of Russia's industries; they were the soldiers who had fought in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and the First World War. For decades peasants had moved back and forth between city and commune, labor force and farm, army and Siberia; and it may be safely assumed that those who returned to their villages talked about their travels and experiences with their friends. For at least two decades there had been utopian socialists, Marxists, and anarchists in and around the villages, along with thousands of copies of political manifestoes, haranguing students, and local activists. Before that there were the priests and government officials and landowners who fed the unforgetting anger in peasant hearts. Surely it is time for students who would talk seriously about rural Russia to dismiss the myth that the peasants were isolated from the world, politically blind and deaf, unreflecting, and incapable of recognizing injustice and stupidity in their would-be rulers.

In sum, while it may be said that the author succeeds in achieving the objectives he set for himself, he provides little that is new or insightful and perpetuates some half-truths that need much closer examination.

ARTHUR E. ADAMS
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NEAR EAST

HEINZ GAUBE. *Iranian Cities.* (Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization.) New York: New York University Press. 1979. Pp. xviii, 132. $22.50.

In its size and general format, Heinz Gaube's book at first sight recalls Laurence Lockhart's *Persian Cities* (1960), a collection of a score of historical essays with photographic plates. It is a quite different and generally more interesting and valuable work, however. Treating only three cities in detail (Herat, Isfahan, and Bam), the author uses them as representative of urban types and relates them historically and ecologically to their hinterland. His work is prefaced by a discussion of the *qanāt* system of underground water supply, of the socioeconomic principles of urban evolution, and the early prototypes of the Near Eastern city that have influenced the Iranian model. Based upon a number of studies of Iranian and other Middle Eastern cities and their hinterlands that have been produced in recent years, especially in the U.S. and Germany, and evidently up-to-date in the general literature of urban geography, this section is a succinct statement of the state of the art in a field where there is still much room for speculation and argument.

The descriptions of the cities themselves in general live up to this promising start, critically amplifying stock epithets like "fertile" and "strategic" with which historians who have not been there are often content to characterize cities and hinterlands. The work is extensively illustrated with photographs and carefully drafted plans and maps. Unfortunately, many of these are poorly reproduced, at least in this copy: printing them with the text rather than as glossy plates has ruined definition and contrast, and even in the plans symbols are frequently obscured in the halftone or stippled areas. Except for some infelicities and repetitions, the author's English style is generally clear; typographical and other minor errors are few (for example, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* is incorrectly titled on pp. 62 and 132)—up until the chapter on Bam, where carelessness and inaccuracy suddenly abound.

The repeated assertion that the Afghans ruled Bam throughout the eighteenth century is not borne out by the references; in fact between the 1730s and 1790s the province was under autonomous Sistani chieftains owing nominal allegiance first to Nader Shah then to the Zands. Gaube's contention (pp. 105–06) that the Arab geographers' descriptions of the citadel of Bam have been misunderstood rebounds on him—Muqaddasi's *ḥiṣn* (Gaube's citadel) has four gates named for the cities on the main routes from Bam, which seems to qualify it rather as an outer wall; while *qal'a* (Gaube's "inner city") in fact denotes the citadel (also commonly, and unambiguously, called *arg*, which Gaube does not mention).

Nevertheless, the book displays a feeling for the actual sites and characters of these cities as well as a clear view of the theories presented. It is a welcome contribution to Middle Eastern urban geography and history.

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NIKOLAOS VAN DAM. *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Sectarianism, Regionalism and Tribalism in Politics, 1961–1978.* New York: St. Martin's Press. 1979. Pp. 147. $19.95.

The author is a member of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and his educational background was at the Universities of Amsterdam and Bonn, supplemented by research in the field. The Dutch have a long history and exemplary record of Middle Eastern scholarship, and this work is a welcome addition to the relatively small number of works in English and French on Syria.

Syria's contemporary history has been affected greatly by the rivalries between its numerous religious sects, as well as by ideological differences. Up to now emphasis has been given to the latter. The country's various sects have been submerged in the ideological context. Van Dam approaches the power struggle from the differences in the country's sociological structure. He opens up new vistas for those interested in the play of forces in the rivalry for control of the country's destiny.

The work opens with an appraisal of sources for the study: party documents, memoirs, the press, and radio. These are capped by interviews with participants in the events described. Then there is a description of the various sects and minorities and their role in weakening loyalties and commitments to the Syrian state. Since his emphasis is on the period 1961–78, the work mostly covers that of Ba'athist rule of the country and the party's internal struggles, especially between the civilian and military factions, which have been accentuated by the activities and attitudes of the various sects. Also, he describes the Syrian Ba'ath's relationship with its rival Ba'ath regime in Baghdad.

The dynamics of Ba'athist rule are described in detail and give the reader an understanding of the intricacies of Syrian political life and how that country has come to be ruled by the Alawite minority under the leadership of Hafiz al-Asad. Also explained is the change in the nature of the Ba'ath itself.

The footnotes, which follow each chapter, are ex-

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tensive and most helpful. The bibliography is extensive and includes works in English, French, German, Dutch, and Hebrew.

For those interested in a thorough understanding of Syria's role in the present complex Middle Eastern situation this work is a must. For the nonspecialist reader to understand fully this scholarly treatise, however, it is advisable to prepare oneself by reading one of the more general works on modern Syria. Only then can the wealth of detail in van Dam's book be fully appreciated. Readers with only a casual acquaintance with this country will find themselves lost in its detail.

GORDON TORREY
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AFRICA

MARIUS DEEB. *Party Politics in Egypt: The Wafd and its Rivals, 1919–1939.* (St. Antony's Middle East Monographs, number 9.) London: Ithaca Press, for The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford. 1979. Pp. 451. £9.50.

Marius Deeb has undertaken a socioeconomic analysis of Egyptian political parties within the contexts of political rivalries and the impetus to industrialize between 1919 and 1939. He focuses primarily on the Wafd, which he examines as a national movement and as a political party according to the cadre-mass party distinctions found in Maurice Duverger's *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State* (1954).

Deeb concludes that the Wafd possessed characteristics of both the cadre and the mass party; its prestige as leader of the nationalist movement made the need to build "a more defined structure and a more sophisticated ideology and programme" seem unnecessary (p. 419). By 1939 the Wafd faced serious threats to its basis of national support, particularly the alliance of urban *effendiya*, or middle class, with medium landowners possessing land ranging from ten to two hundred *faddans*; many of the *effendiya* were co-opted by the recently established Young Egypt Society and the Muslim Brothers. Deeb calls these two groups political parties because of their organizational structures, which he considers superior to the Wafd's. As other non-Wafdist parties were cadres with limited bases of support and no organizational hierarchy, Deeb leaves the impression that the only true political parties in Egypt in 1939, using Duverger's criteria, were those groups that rejected secular political ideology and returned in varying extents to an Islamic foundation, a significant conclusion if pursued.

Unfortunately, Deeb does not analyze these conclusions in themselves or with reference to his judgments of the Wafd and its rivals. He devotes too much attention to political narrative and detail. Furthermore, although his analytical framework is the nature of party organizations, he concentrates his discussion on the nature of party compositions in light of political events and changing economic conditions. Much of the latter discussion is stimulating and provocative, but no sustained attempt to integrate the two elements is made, even in the conclusion.

These gaps are regrettable since Deeb's hypotheses are sound and his research vast. The Bank Misr sources and other publications relating to industry and commerce that Deeb consults are particularly informative, and his use of them should ensure that this book will contribute to future debates over the relationship of socioeconomic change to party formations and alliances in modern Egypt to 1952. A major issue of contention will be his insistence that the Wafd remained in 1939, as previously, a predominantly urban-based party. He relies on the changing composition of Wafd leadership for these conclusions rather than on voting returns or the backgrounds of parliamentary deputies. His claims of significant percentage differences in the social composition of Wafd leadership over the twenty years examined reflect more the fluctuating total of members in the leadership group than major variances among individual social segments. At times Deeb's evidence suggests the opposite, namely that the rural base of the Wafd was more significant than he allows. Peasants elected as their representatives members of the urban *effendiya* who retained rural ties and ran for office from rural districts. (See Leonard Binder's *In a Moment of Enthusiasm: Political Power and the Second Stratum in Egypt*, which appeared too recently for Deeb to consult, particularly chapter 6.)

Finally, I must note that this is an unedited typescript with many grammatical errors that could have been corrected easily. With editing and additional contemplation, this study would have illustrated more readily the promise inherent in the subject, the material presented, and the hypotheses that Deeb postulated as the basis of his investigation.

CHARLES D. SMITH
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MAHDI ADAMU. *The Hausa Factor in West African History.* (Ahmadu Bello University History Series.) Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press and Oxford University Press Nigeria. 1978. Pp. x, 224. $32.00.

Sketched across the width and breadth of West Africa, this study draws a unifying theme out of the diverse West African scene. Hausa merchants and

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mallams left their homeland in northern Nigeria to spread south and west, carrying commerce and spreading the use of their language and habits of dress, the Qur'ān, and literacy in Arabic and Hausa. Although the Hausa homeland and environs were politically unified under the Sokoto Caliphate after 1804, Hausa emigrants to more distant regions contributed to the economic unity of West Africa without drawing invaders behind them. Mahdi Adamu has documented the wide scope of Hausa influences from the sixteenth century to 1900 through a combination of published evidence and nearly 160 interviews, conducted in Hausa, with individuals and groups in eight countries. He has thus burst the colonial bounds within which precolonial African history has too often been restrained.

From a breach of colonial frontiers to a fully balanced presentation is, of course, a long reach. The argument and supporting materials are best presented for Nigeria, where most of the Hausa live; the next best coverage is for Ghana, which was the main focus of Hausa trade outside Nigeria and which also became a British colony. For the territories that endured French rule, the coverage is not as strong. On modern Benin, for example, Adamu should have consulted works by Jacques Lombard, Paul Marty, and Alexandre d'Albéca; these show the importance of the nineteenth-century trade route from Grand Popo to Djougou and help to distinguish Hausa and Dendi elements of caravan trade in Benin. Other sources give emphasis to the import of cowries, the currency of Hausa, through modern Benin. Despite such inevitable unevenness, the author's methodology is sound and his scope remains broad.

In Adamu's view, the economic basis for Hausa commercial expansion was the remarkable range of Hausa manufactures; its institutional basis was the freedom of commerce from state control, which permitted emigration of the commoners from whom merchants and *mallams* were drawn. The author shows the skill of Hausa emigrants in developing markets for their goods, setting up commercial networks, and establishing close ties with political authorities wherever they went. He emphasizes that Hausa emigrants brought new goods and opportunities for the non-Hausa they served and, at the same time, raised the prestige of the Hausa ethnic group and the Islamic religion. Adamu's argument, therefore, is not only a meticulous exposition but also a celebration of Hausa influences on West Africa. Much of the celebration is appropriate, but in some cases it will elicit response by other scholars who are in a position to emphasize the problems and conflicts brought by Hausa expansion. Adamu himself notes the ambiguous role of Hausa soldiers in the British West African army.

The book is written for both West African and foreign audiences. It has a good set of maps, a glossary of Hausa terms, and a solid conclusion. For West Africans, in addition, it includes documentation of many individual and family names and an explicit, often witty, connection of the historical findings with contemporary affairs.

PATRICK MANNING
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RENÉ PÉLISSIER. *Les guerres grises: Résistance et révoltes en Angola (1845–1941)*. Orgeval, France: The Author, 1977. Pp. 630.

RENÉ PÉLISSIER. *La colonie du minotaure: Nationalismes et révoltes en Angola (1926–1961)*. Orgeval, Franch: The Author. 1978. Pp. 727.

These massive volumes on African resistance to Portuguese rule in Angola show beyond further doubt the absurdity of the theory of "lusotropicalism," at least in the African context. René Pélissier shows convincingly that violence was the hallmark of Angolan colonial history in the period from the mid-nineteenth century on.

Volume 1 is devoted to an account of what many historians have called "primary resistance" or "ethnic nationalism." Having outlined the administrative and economic characteristics of the colony around the year 1845, the author proceeds to survey chapter by chapter the major uprisings in various regions of the country. After 1879 violence on both sides escalated as Portugal struggled to make good its claims to Angola in the "Scramble for Africa." Here, Pélissier states that "no other European power ever met with so much resistance and so many local uprisings in tropical Africa" (p. 609). In the period 1879–1926, for example, Angolans kept the colonial army on a permanent alert and forced the Portuguese to mount more than 150 campaigns involving 30,000 men. The strength and organization of African resistance is shown most dramatically for southern Angola where the Ovambo could turn out 40,000 soldiers armed with "tens of thousands" of rifles.

Volume 2 deals with other forms of nationalism, such as syncretic churches, protest journalism, labor action, and modern political parties, as well as the continuing ethnic nationalism in northern Angola. Part 1 considers the conditions, such as the repressive policies of Salazar's New State and the failure of the *indigenato* system, which contributed to the outbreak of full-scale rebellion in 1961. The second part contains an exhaustive account of the three major uprisings in Luanda, Cassange, and northern Angola and documents Portuguese responses to these manifestations of African resistance to colonial rule.

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The main problem with these volumes is their size. Almost every gunshot in the struggle seems to have been carefully recorded. Although it is admirable to have so much information on the subject brought together in two volumes, it makes these books somewhat daunting even for the most ardent researcher. It may also put them out of the reach of the general reader of African history, which seems a pity. At the beginning of volume 2 Pélissier modestly suggests that his books are only an introduction to the subject, but they are much more than that. These volumes will be indispensable reading for those interested in Angolan colonial history for years to come. The text is accompanied by numerous maps, charts, and diagrams, and there are excellent bibliographies.

As a footnote, it should be pointed out that the books are published separately and that the terms volume 1 and 2 are used here only for convenience.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

JONATHAN D. SPENCE and JOHN E. WILLS, JR., editors. *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region, and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1979. Pp. xxiv, 413. $25.00.

From Ming to Ch'ing is a collection of nine articles by scholars who demonstrate impressive competence in the relevant languages and in analytical ability. Initially, I will discuss briefly each of the articles and conclude with a general comment.

The article by Gertraude Roth deals with the Manchu-Chinese relationship, based primarily on Manchu sources. The evolution of the relationship is traced: an initial attempt at relative equality, the anti-Chinese reaction of 1623 and 1625, and the more pro-Chinese policy after Nurhaci's death in 1626. Roth's treatment is eminently clear and convincing, though one might wish for more discussion of one crucial topic, the relative importance of Manchus and Chinese in the fateful decision to invade south of the Great Wall.

Frederic Wakeman deals with the occupation of Peking by Li Tzu-ch'eng from late April to early June 1644 and the Shun dynasty that he attempted to found. Knowing something of the complexities of the sources for this topic adds to my admiration of Wakeman's treatment. The perspective, however, limited to such a brief time span, does pose problems. Li's glaring deficiencies for founding a dynasty were already apparent at least by 1642. It would have been the greatest political miracle in Chinese history if he had managed to compensate for his past failure during his fleeting occupation of Peking.

Jerry Dennerline's article deals with the political and military situation in the lower Yangtze from 1634 to 1645, culminating in the collapse of the Ming pretender regime in Nanking. Previous works have concentrated on the bitter factional struggles and corrupt ministers at the court of the Ming pretender. Dennerline demonstrates that incompetence and disorganization at the local level were as rife as they were in Nanking and perhaps even more so. He might have added comments about more general questions. Does the Chiang-nan situation suggest the disappearance of a true aristocracy by Ming times? And why did not a member of the gentry, like Hsü Tu, the central figure of the article, attempt to found a dynasty to succeed the Ming instead of leaving leadership in the rebel movement to "red necks"?

Ian McMorran deals with the great intellectual figure, Wang Fu-chih, especially during his brief career at the court of the Ming pretender, Yung-li. The topic is a depressing one: the irrelevance of Confucian ideals in a context of sordid political maneuvering and increasingly hopeless resistence to the Manchus. One is presented, however, with intensified awareness of the trauma experienced by many Chinese intellectuals during the transition from Ming to Ch'ing.

Morris Rossabi corrects a defect in previous works on the late Ming rebellions by demonstrating that the Muslim-Central Asian role has been underestimated. Though he does not argue that the Muslim element in the rebellions was a major factor, he does show how Central Asian conditions could influence the internal Chinese scene. I offer two suggestions, however: (1) more analysis of rebel nicknames in assessing the Muslim role in the rebellions and (2) more consideration of possible Muslim influences on the major Manchu contribution to history, the doubling of China's size by exerting dominance over huge frontier areas.

In an article especially impressive for command of all the relevant languages, John E. Wills, Jr., considers the south China coast from the mid-1600s to the early 1700s. Thus, one has a broader perspective than is found in most of the articles. I do have two criticisms. First, in discussing the decline of the Wakō after 1557, Wills neglects what I regard as the crucial factor, the civil war in Japan that absorbed Japanese military potential in the internal Japanese scene. Second, though Wills correctly labels the south China coast as peripheral in Chinese history, why was there not more effort to increase the power of the region by achievement of greater unity among its three areas?

The article by Hilary J. Beattie takes one away from the romantic view of the Ming-Ch'ing transi-

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tion to the practical elite of a lower Yangtze county, T'ung-ch'eng, who had no difficulty in making the wisest choice among the three alternatives. In an amazing exhibition of their practicality, the elite consented to a reduction of tax privileges and amended their clan rules to mirror the intensified authoritarianism. There is one question that deserves more consideration. Did Chang Hsien-chung's raids make the "law and order" issue the most significant element in determining why T'ung-ch'eng accepted the new order so readily? In other words, why was T'ung-ch'eng so unlike some of the counties south of the Yangtze?

The article by Tsing Yuan is the least successful in the collection. Though one has no doubts concerning the validity of the details of his research on urban riots, there remains a fundamental discrepancy, illustrated by the following passages: "These urban riots ultimately proved abortive and had little effect on the shape of politics in the mid-eighteenth century" (p. 281); and "the traditional urban populace, in fact, proved a serious and recurrent challenge to the Ming and Ch'ing governments" (p. 309). Unless one is a Buddha, one cannot be "abortive" and "serious" (and all other states) at the same time; and, in the present context, I would choose "abortive."

Lynn Struve's article resembles that of McMorran. Both deal very successfully with the Chinese intellectual reaction to the Manchu conquest, though McMorran concentrates on one example and Struve is more diffuse.

To conclude with a general comment, there should have been a final chapter in which the nine authors (plus Jonathan D. Spence) cooperated to sum up the Ming-Ch'ing transition. Such a chapter might have provided more evidence to support or refute my own theory about the essential element in the Ming collapse and Ch'ing triumph: collaboration between reactionary north China and the Manchus, who were unquestionably the most dedicated supporters of Confucian fundamentalism in the mid-1600s, against the lower Yangtze with its more worldly values. After all, the Ming was the first dynasty originating in the lower Yangtze to exert control over the entire country; and, though concessions were made to the north, the Ming never lost a certain lower Yangtze flamboyance (for example, the existence of 100,000 eunuchs by the end of the dynasty was a particularly flagrant violation of Confucian values).

Though I have offered numerous criticisms, my general assessment of the book is still highly positive. It makes a valuable contribution to Ming-Ch'ing studies and should be required reading for anyone interested in the two dynasties.

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ANGUS W. MCDONALD, JR., *The Urban Origins of Rural Revolution: Elites and the Masses in Hunan Province, China, 1911–1927.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, for Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley. 1978. Pp. xi, 369. $17.50.

This is an exceptionally fine piece of scholarship. In fact, it is more than scholarship; it is literature, which scholarship should be but usually is not. Angus W. McDonald's subjects are the extremely complicated, drama-laden events that resulted in the creation of the first Communist-led mass movement in China and, subsequently, its virtual destruction by Chiang Kai-shek and other militarists during the late 1920s. He shows that initially this movement triumphed not only because its Communist-inclined leaders, such as the young Mao Tse-tung, succeeded in mobilizing millions of peasants and workers in support of its objectives but also because those elements in Chinese society that normally would have opposed it were divided against one another, chiefly over the issue of foreign imperialism in China. When, inevitably, this movement threatened what they regarded as their vital interests, these elements resolved their differences with each other and joined forces against it, bringing about its destruction. This convinced Mao and others who accepted his leadership that in the future any Communist-led mass movement in China must sustain itself chiefly from its support among the masses and not from alliances with other groups or the disunity of its enemies.

As for the conservatives, according to the author, they had "gambled on self-strengthening in a social Darwinist world, on substituting leadership in modernization for Confucian learning, hoping that old wealth and new accomplishments together would maintain the fundamental structure of society intact and eventually curb the foreigners' power" (p. 20). But perhaps even more important than the author's efforts to delineate and analyze such broad themes are his perceptive, often unforgettable descriptions of the men who made that history and the conditions in which they lived and worked. For example, there emerges from this study an especially vivid portrait of the young Mao Tse-tung who, even in his twenties, demonstrated both political genius and extraordinary compassion for the impoverished. Arrayed against him and his followers was an assemblage of warlords, merchants, and gentry who likewise spring to life as a result of the author's deft prose. And I intend to read to all of my classes his harrowing but memorable description of the lives of mill workers in China during the 1920s.

In my opinion, no one has done a better job than McDonald of portraying the elemental brutality of China's warlord era and what it was like to live in a country of which a large part had become little

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more than a battlefield and an execution ground. No wonder thoughtful Chinese turned to Marxism. "It seemed to give a handle on the terrible new world into which they were born," observes the author. "Intelligent people who felt their grip on the future weakening could—with one part of their being—embrace labor and peasant organization as a concrete emanation of science and democracy, feeling it crucial to national salvation" (pp. 279–80).

It appears that the author has been unable to secure a permanent academic position and may be forced to leave the profession of Chinese studies. This is a shame because he has written one of the best books on modern China that I have read.

DONALD G. GILLIN
Vassar College

NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD. *Shanghai, 1925: Urban Nationalism and the Defense of Foreign Privilege.* (Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, number 37.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. 1979. Pp. xiv, 125. $4.00.

Although the May 30th Movement is generally seen as the beginning of the end of warlordism, the first appearance of the anti-imperialist United Front in China, and a time in which class consciousness blossomed among the workers, the fever that swept China in the spring of 1925 has not received the concentrated attention it deserves.

Nicholas R. Clifford's book does not fill this gap. He ably sketches the commonly known historical context in his introduction, but the monograph is chiefly concerned with Sino-British diplomatic history and with that unique group of foreigners whom he terms "Shanghailanders." The author has some fascinating detective work to show and makes a significant supplement to Dorothy Borg's dated *American Policy and the Chinese Revolution* (1947). He ably exploits the PRO records and uses a few of the most important general circulation Chinese-language newspapers to leaven his account, but oddly—given that the acting counselor of the French legation in Peking headed up the major commission of inquiry into the massacre of Chinese workers and students by British-officered police—Clifford appears not to have darkened the doors of French archives.

Despite the fact that this is not a book about Chinese, but about the foreign experience in China, the author makes a significant contribution to institutional history in his discussion of Chinese diplomacy. A quarter of a century ago Borg argued that Chinese diplomats were extremely capable men whose able defense of the nation's interest was fettered by the material weakness of the country. Clifford stands diametrically opposed to this view. He agrees with the dominant opinion of the times that, as the *Far Eastern Miscellany* put it, the diplomats were "timorous, incapable men who occupy positions without doing any work." Their utter failure to wrest advantage from the outrageous conduct of the British on May 30, 1925, and from the mobilization of broad masses of the Chinese people was not the result of China's lack of armies or unity or political clout. It was not the result of forces over which the diplomats had no control. Instead, it was a function of their position within a power structure that was ultimately buttressed by the foreigners. Clifford's arguments along this line parallel those advanced by "dependency theorists" and deserve close attention.

Clifford has contributed to the deplorably meager literature on treaty-port nationalism. This, in addition to his close following of diplomatic developments during an explosive period, makes the book yet another significant contribution from the University of Michigan's China studies program.

ANGUS W. MCDONALD, JR.
Control Data Corporation

DONALD H. MCMILLEN. *Chinese Communist Power and Policy in Xinjiang, 1949–1977.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, and Dawson, Folkestone, Kent. 1979. Pp. xix, 373. $23.00.

This five-part study of Sinkiang first surveys the province's geographical, economic, and demographic features then skims the pre-1949 period. Parts 2 and 3 describe Communist leadership and policies from 1949 to 1966, focusing on administrative, military, and party personnel, then treat party building and minority, agricultural, pastoral, and industrial-commercial policies. Parts 4 and 5 cover the 1966–67 period.

The author, Donald H. McMillen, provides new material about how the Chinese re-established control over a traditionally anti-Chinese region. He correctly stresses the importance of military power in establishing and maintaining Communist Chinese rule in Sinkiang but could have strengthened his account by comparing this with earlier Chinese efforts. One significant question is the containment, reduction, and elimination of direct Soviet influence in the 1950s and 1960s. The Lanchow-Urumchi railroad line's completion coupled with the building of a highway network linking the major urban centers to Urumchi greatly assisted in integrating Sinkiang into the national administrative structure and undercut traditional pro-Soviet centers like Kashgar and Yining. The gradual establishment of Wang En-mao's powerful base of support in Sinkiang later enabled Wang to withstand repeated Red Guard efforts to oust him. Finally, McMillen carefully presents the Production and

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Construction Corps' crucial role in Sinkiang's economic development from 1954 to 1977.

Several things mar this work's general effectiveness. The historical overview, for example, is seriously flawed. Let two examples suffice: The Sui dynasty wrested China from non-Chinese control in the sixth, not the eighth, century. And Yakub Beg did not spark the spontaneous Muslim revolts in 1864 but rather took over and unified the southern dissidents. Space does not permit mentioning numerous other examples of factual inaccuracy. The author also fails to consider Tso Tsung-t'ang's significant Sinkiang policies, which could have provided him with a comparative dimension to the later Communist efforts. Finally, he ignores important published research on Sinkiang by Joseph Fletcher and Saguchi Toro, as well as an important *Central Asiatic Journal* article on Yuan Tseng-hsin's administration.

Throughout, McMillen writes descriptively rather than analytically. He fails to assess how Communist policies in Sinkiang compared with those elsewhere in China, especially in the 1950s. He uses his rather limited source material uncritically as his notes show little analytical commentary. Heavy reliance on government documents bias the account against Sinkiang's ethnic minorities, whose reactions to Chinese rule are but vaguely indicated. Thus we must continue to await a sophisticated study of Sinkiang after 1949.

LANNY B. FIELDS
University of Hawaii, Hilo

PETER JUDD ARNESEN. *The Medieval Japanese Daimyo: The Ōuchi Family's Rule of Suō and Nagato.* (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, number 122.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 246. $17.50.

The 1970s saw American studies of Japan's medieval history begin to come of age with the publication of essay collections, monographs, and even document studies. Now Peter Judd Arnesen has added to that growing body of literature the first book-length study of one of the great daimyo, or regional military lords, of the medieval age, the Ōuchi family that held sway in the southwestern part of Japan's main island for most of the Muromachi and Sengoku periods.

Arnesen's two major intellectual debts in *The Medieval Japanese Daimyo* are to his mentor, John Whitney Hall, which manifests itself both in the selection of the topic and in his general approach, and to Matsuoka Hisato of Hiroshima University, Japan's leading authority on the Ōuchi, upon whose published works and personal guidance the author relied heavily.

After an extended introduction dealing mainly with the warriors' rise to political authority and proprietary lordship, Arnesen takes the Ōuchi in five chapters from their position as local officials in Suō province in the Heian period, through their rise to major shugo status in the Muromachi age, and finally to their demise at the hands of vassals in 1551. It is not totally a chronological account, however, since chapters 4 and 5 deal specifically with Ōuchi political authority, land tenure, and taxation. Furthermore, the author does not keep the reader buried in the provinces but skillfully weaves the story of local changes together with national developments.

Arnesen challenges certain established views, both American and Japanese. Although the work was stimulated by Hall's classic study of the developmental stages leading to the emergence of the Tokugawa-period daimyo, Arnesen gently revises certain of his mentors' views. He finds, for example, fewer distinctions between the shugo and sengoku daimyo than Hall. Concentrating on the relations between shugo and local warriors, Arnesen concludes that in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries "the tenurial order was one in which powerful local warriors enjoyed seignorial prerogatives over a steadily increasing proportion of the country's arable land. It was upon the support of these warrior seigniors that the rule of both the shugo and sengoku daimyo was founded" (p. 5).

Arnesen reviews the historiography of daimyo studies within the context of feudalism (both the European model favored in America and the Marxist view prevalent in Japan); but he concludes that feudalism may not be the best organizational device for understanding daimyo rule. He finds that it was possible for the Muromachi daimyo "to increase his power and authority without expanding his personal domain" to the extent we had thought "and without necessarily imposing an increasingly feudal . . . character upon the holdings of his vassals" (p. 24). Arnesen's study of Ōuchi relations with court and bakufu, on the one hand, and local warrior lords, on the other, shows that this was true in their case, although he never explicitly states how representative he feels the Ōuchi were. No matter. His excellent institutional study of an important medieval Japanese daimyo family is a major contribution to the field.

G. CAMERON HURST III
University of Kansas

TAKASHI ISHII. *Meiji shoki no kokusai kankei* [International Relations of the Early Meiji Era]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan. 1977. Pp. ix, 358. ¥ 4,500.

Ishii Takashi, a life-long student of Japanese diplomacy of the 1850s and 1860s, has produced a mono-

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graph devoted to the history of the revision of Japan's unequal treaties during the 1870s. The monograph is made up of three chapters dealing with the Iwakura Mission, the question of Westerners' travel in the interior of Japan, and Japan's unsuccessful attempt to recover tariff autonomy. Because of its short chronological scope, the work may remind a reader familiar with the Japanese-language literature on the history of treaty revision of Fukuya Haruhiko's *Shoki gikai jōyaku kaisei* (1940). From the viewpoint of sources, it may also remind the reader of Shimomura Fujio's *Meiji shoki jōyaku kaiseishi no kenkyū* (1962) in that both Shimomura and Ishii have used Western archival sources as well as Japanese. Whereas the late Shimomura used only American sources, Ishii has used sources both American and British, especially FO 46 (Japan correspondence of the British Foreign Office). In this regard, the latter's work is the first of its kind, a product of multiarchival research in the true sense of the term.

With the use of these English-language sources, Ishii has been able to illuminate the processes of negotiations that went on between the representatives of treaty powers in Japan and their home governments—particularly with respect to the two largest ones, Great Britain and the United States—and between the governments of treaty powers and their representatives in the capitals of other treaty powers. This is an aspect of the history that the earlier students of the history of treaty revision, such as Moriya Hidesuke, Yamomoto Shigeru, and Kawashima Shintarō, were unable to describe and analyze fully in their standard works. To account for differing positions taken by various treaty powers toward Japan's efforts to revise the treaties, the author has made judicious and persuasive use of the trade statistics of Japan during the 1870s. In this monograph one finds virtually no influence of Marxist historiography. This is remarkable, since as recently as 1968 the author affirmed the view that the Kōzaha interpretation of the Meiji Restoration is "the correct understanding" of the restoration (*Nihon rekishi* [August 1968]: 11).

A careful reader of FO 46 will be impressed by the author's exceptionally accurate rendering and use of numerous documents from this foreign-language source collection but may at times be overwhelmed by the lengthy summaries of a myriad of documents, each of which often serves as a unit of analysis. The reader may wish for more analysis and interpretation of themes running through the documents that may highlight the overall picture. This would be quite evident if one compares this monograph with one of the author's earlier works, *Nihon kaikokushi* (1972), the primary source of which is *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo*, a Japanese-language source. His heavy reliance on FO 46 has had the effect of inhibiting his historical imagination. Nevertheless, it is the lengthy, faithful translations and abstracts of the British documents that will probably make the monograph most useful to other historians, especially Japanese historians, who will make use of it either in writing their own works at a higher level of generalization or in preparing lectures.

RICHARD T. CHANG
University of Florida

JOHN M. MAKI. *Kuraaku: Sono eikô to zaseki* [W. S. Clark: A Yankee in Hokkaido]. Translated by TAKAKU SHIN'ICHI. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Tosho Kankōkai. 1978. Pp. vi, 358. ¥ 1,700.

YUZO OTA. *Kuraaku no ichinen: Sapporo Nōgakkō shodai kyōtō no Nihon taiken* [The Japanese Experience of William S. Clark, the First President of Sapporo Agricultural College]. Kyoto: Shōwadō. 1979. Pp. v, 304. ¥ 1,900.

William Smith Clark (1826–1886) was an American scientist and educator who in the course of his career served as one of the first American technical advisors abroad. In Japan he remains as a result of this last characteristic probably the best remembered nineteenth-century American after Abraham Lincoln. Visitors from North America are frequently asked about him by Japanese and forced to confess they have never heard of him. When Japanese first started to come to the United States after World War II, they went to pay their respects at his grave in Amherst, Massachusetts, only to discover that no one knew its whereabouts.

The authors of both these works start with the anomaly of great fame in Japan and virtual neglect at home. Their works taken together complement each other and go far beyond the enthusiastic but partial earlier Japanese biographies based upon the recollections of Clark's students in Sapporo and the early records of what developed from the Sapporo Agricultural College into Hokkaido University. They provide for the first time a thorough and balanced biography, along with annotated primary sources from American archives.

The anomaly in points of view arises from differing perceptions. The Japanese see in Clark a symbol of the transmission of new attitudes into their own rapid modernization. Two points stand out: that he introduced into Japan a new spirit of rational agriculture typified by the phrase, "Boys, be ambitious," and that he started a new tradition of purely Japanese Christianity. Because these two events loom so large in Japanese considerations of their own history, Maki devotes over a third of his total space to Clark's time in Japan, and Ota organizes his whole book around it.

Maki looks at Clark's career from his position as a senior professor and administrator in the University

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of Massachusetts, the American university that Clark, more than any other single individual, founded and led in its first decade. Maki's thorough research in what must be all the available sources, and in particular the American ones, results in a convincing and appealing portrait of Clark as a provincial leader. Born the son of a physician in western Massachusetts and blessed with a quick intelligence, strong constitution, and sense of daring, Clark set out to excel at everything and for half a century seemed to succeed. His graduate study at Göttingen enabled him to continue his interest in chemistry and mineralogy, developed as an undergraduate at Amherst College, and then to return to his alma mater as a faculty member at twenty-six. He remained for his entire tenure at Amherst the only member of the faculty with a doctor's degree. He married a childhood sweetheart who bore him eleven children, three of whom died in infancy. His father-in-law, a very wealthy man, donated the science building to Amherst College with a laboratory especially designed for Clark and otherwise helped Clark to house his family comfortably and indulge his love for fast horses and big parties. Working from this assured base, Clark's own charisma and vision enabled him to become a local celebrity who organized and led a body of militia in the Civil War, from which he returned a colonel. Leaving Amherst shortly thereafter, he helped found the new agricultural college that would become the University of Massachusetts and that quickly established a reputation for excellence. The Japanese, hoping to develop an institution that would train men to develop their frontier northern island, quite rightly sought him out as the American most knowledgeable in agriculture and experienced at building the kind of institution they sought. Working with three of his graduates from the University of Massachusetts and with Japanese who implemented his every suggestion, Clark established in nine short months the basic framework that made the University of Hokkaido, to use Maki's insight, proportionately more important in Japan than the University of Massachusetts in the United States. Much to his own surprise, Clark also found himself a highly successful missionary as his decision to use the Bible to teach ethics led to the conversion of many of his students and thereby started one of the three major streams of Protestantism in Japan. After this heady success, the routine bickerings over funds with the state legislature back home palled on him. He resigned to found a floating university that was to take students on two-year round-the-world educational cruises. When insufficient numbers of students responded, Clark sought a fortune for himself and his friends with a return to the practical application of his first interest in mineralogy. He did not exercise good business sense in the selection of his partner and returned from a long inspection of the company's gold mines to find his partner gone, the account books in disarray, and insufficient cash to satisfy creditors, a shock that appears to have hastened his death a few years later.

This summary of Maki's text shows that Clark accomplished a great deal and at the same time helps to explain how, for his neighbors, most of whom invested in his mining company, his final failure erased the earlier good will earned by his military and civil successes. Clark comes across as a man whose ability and energy enabled him to implement ambitious visions but who lacked the staying power to consolidate what he started so brilliantly. Ota, a professor at McGill, starts from within the Japanese tradition of unquestioned praise for Clark's accomplishment. He focuses on the twenty-seven letters that Clark wrote back to his family and friends during his absence from Amherst. Copious notes supplement what Clark says with additional material from the letters of his companions, newspaper articles, memoirs of Clark's students, and the numerous Japanese-language sources that have appeared over the years in response to the Clark legend.

Ota's careful use of these sources focuses on the true nature of Clark's missionary work and the lasting value of his contribution to Japan. He notes that Clark's letters show that, contrary to the Japanese tradition, he did not himself purchase copies of the Bible for his students before he arrived in Sapporo and then by strength of faith and personality force his Japanese superior Kuroda Kiyotaka to his own point of view. Clark tells us he was given the Bibles by a missionary in Tokyo and then fairly easily received permission to use them for ethical instruction. What surprised him was the enthusiastic response of the students that in turn elicited from him evangelistic fervor. Ota also questions the importance of Clark's contributions to Japanese agriculture, quoting several authorities who consider them inappropriate. He inclines to give more credit for the final general success of the American advisors to Clark's younger assistant, William Wheeler. Wheeler's more detailed letters home reflect a greater objectivity about Japan that, combined with his ability as an engineer and longer period of teaching in Sapporo, makes Ota feel that Wheeler deserves more credit than he usually gets.

By his introduction of new materials into the active field of Japanese intellectual history, Ota brushes away some of the cobwebs that form in the unexamined corners of pious historiography. Maki, while concluding that Clark was not "great" (the original I assume Takaku has translated as *idai*), does portray Clark as a vivid embodiment of many nineteenth-century American concerns, particularly in the areas away from the port cities. As such, his

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work deserves publication in the original English. We hope it will appear in its original form, complete with the detailed bibliography that Takaku notes exists but that the Hokkaido University Press did not include in this volume. Then, for the first time, the story of Clark's singular accomplishments will be available to students of the era when the activities of citizens in the Connecticut River Valley so reflected American enthusiasms and accomplishments.

JOHN F. HOWES
University of British Columbia

NOBUYA BAMBA and JOHN F. HOWES, editors. *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition.* Foreword by ROBERT N. BELLAH. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1978. Pp. xiv, 300. Cloth $22.00, paper $9.50.

One of the constant plaints of students of modern Japanese history is that, despite the nation's breathtaking success in economic development, the price for such achievement was exceedingly high. The usual interpretation concedes that certain sectors of Japanese society were neglected in the interest of economic development, while others simply were permitted to languish in a semi-feudal torpor. A corollary to this argument is the identification of a tradition of resistance that responded to the self-serving demands of the modern state and, thus, raised the prospect of genuine opposition to the claims of national interest. This tradition has usually been found in the activities of a variety of Japanese Christians who, owing to their commitment to transcendence, were able to overcome the demands of the state and mount a genuine opposition to the form of modernization upon which the nation had embarked. The principal tenet of this argument is that, because Christianity could lay claim to higher loyalties, Japanese adherents were able, in good conscience, to offer legitimate ground for opposing the policies of the Japanese state. Many of these Japanese Christians found in socialism the political form by which to express their negation of statist politics. And the most dramatic instance of this Christian Socialist opposition was in the formation of a pacifist persuasion in modern Japan.

The present volume, admirably edited by Nobuya Bamba and John F. Howes, is pledged to providing us detail and texture concerning this particular story line. The volume includes a number of important essays by Japanese scholars on specific individuals who made their mark on this tradition and a short and informative essay by Robert N. Bellah, which seeks to place the subject of pacifism in the larger structure of meaning. The strength of this book is, of course, the individual essays on important pacifists. The book includes the following essays: Bamba on Kitamura Tōkoku; Takeshi Ishida on the socialist writer, Kinoshita Naoe; Howes on the well-known Christian activist, Uchimura Kanzō; Masamichi Asukai on the socialist turned anarchist, Kotoku Shūsui; Cyril Powles on Abe Isoo; Yuzo Ota on the Japanese social gospelist, Kagawa Toyohiko; Wakao Fujita on the disciple of Uchimura and one of the former presidents of Tokyo University, Yanaihara Tadao; and Katsumi Ueda on the postwar defender of peace and the new constitution, Tabata Shinobu. The book is also equipped with a long introductory chapter by Howes, which seeks to locate the setting for the pacifist persuasion in modern Japan, and a thoughtful conclusion by Bamba.

Most of the individual essays seek to strike a balance between basic biographical informtion and an exposition of the pacifist thought of the subject under consideration. Some figures in the history of modern Japanese social movements are simply more important than others: Kitamura went furthest in framing the questions to be asked about modernity, concerning the form in which such questions might be posed; Uchimura and Kagawa were virtually movements unto themselves, while Yanaihara literally systematized pacifist thought into a practical discipline. Yet there is something basically unsatisfactory about the valorization of pacifism in the thought of many of these writers. There is, I believe, the unstated assumption that pacifism represents the root metaphor in the thinking of these various individuals; there is also the conviction that genuine political opposition to the demands of the modern state could be mounted only by Christians, who seemingly were able to sanction their discordant voice by appealing to a transcendental point of reference. These assumptions grow out of a particular story line that stresses the character of Japan's modern achievements and the costs that must have been paid. But rather than cite the incidence of real conflict and collective discontent that has wracked modern Japan as it pursued single minded economic and military success, the editors and authors have identified a tradition of dissent that, in many ways, has conformed to the structural requirements of modern Japanese society and called attention to its excessive militarism without denouncing the very basis upon which such militarism was made possible. Withdrawal, negation, or moral outrage are poor substitutes for active opposition; most of the writers, excepting Kotoku, who paid with his life, were safely within the bounds of acceptable opposition.

But, despite these objections, the editors and authors should be congratulated for assembling an informative and often fascinating disclosure of the

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modern Japanese intellectual and political imagination.

H. D. HAROOTUNIAN
University of Chicago

JUSTIN WILLIAMS, SR. *Japan's Political Revolution under MacArthur: A Participant's Account.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 305. $16.50.

Justin Williams, Sr., was an important participant in the events he recalls here, first as the legislative division chief, then as the parliamentary and political division chief in SCAP's Government Section. He has written before on specific aspects of the occupation; but here he attempts a coverage at once more general and more personal.

In *his* memoirs Alfred C. Oppler, Williams's friend and colleague, described Williams as of a "flexible, diplomatic, and sociable nature," unwilling to manhandle the Japanese. Little of that flexibility shows through in this account. Based on his own journals, interviews, news accounts, official documents, and selected secondary scholarship, Williams deals in fourteen chapters with organizational aspects of the occupation, with specific issues (the constitution, the diet), with personalities (Charles Kades, Courtney Whitney, and Douglas MacArthur get a separate chapter each), and with historical judgments. Unfortunately, Williams often fails to separate the grain from the chaff. He devotes four paragraphs to one Japanese lawyer's ideas about *geisha*; four pages, ostensibly describing "the Japanese psyche," to an account of four meetings, two with ex-army officers, two at the home of the emperor's chef; four pages to an insignificant personal battle with a SCAP colleague; and four paragraphs, scattered at three points, to Sir George Sansom's book review of a SCAP publication.

As his earlier essays attest, Williams is fully prepared to be controversial. Here he gives a highly sympathetic portrait of Whitney and an almost uncritical one of MacArthur. MacArthur, he argues, was not really interested in the presidency in 1948; but he would have made a better president than any since Roosevelt. In fact, "fully aware of communism's dedication in principle and doctrine to our destruction, he might very well have prevented the Korean War" (pp. 271–72). Truman's lack of resolution invited the attack; and Truman's failure to "let MacArthur fight the Korean War his way" led, Williams suggests, to Vietnam (p. 281).

Occupation critics get short shrift. Andrew Roth's *Dilemma in Japan* "enthusiastically endorsed [JCP leader] Nozaka's program" (p. 17); T. A. Bisson, quoting Theodore Cohen, was "pro-Stalinist" (p. 71); and the Office of Far Eastern Affairs at State was "strongly sympathetic . . . to the thinking of Nozaka Sanzo in Tokyo and to the 'agrarian reformers', led by Mao Tse-tung in China" (p. 273). Had it not been for MacArthur, the occupation might well have resulted in the loss of Japan (pp. 272–73).

Future historians will have to measure the degree to which the Williams of the occupation and the Williams of this volume are one and the same person. As it stands, this volume provides a good deal of ammunition for those Williams considers his enemies: people of the "[Mark] Gayn stripe" (p. 264), "doctrinaire liberals" (p. 265). But to all his critics Williams may well respond as did newsman Bill Cunningham to criticism of Whitney's biography of MacArthur: "What's a wood tick's opinion of the Washington monument?" (p. 264).

RICHARD H. MINEAR
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

KAIGO TOKIOMI, editor. *Sengo Nihon no Kyōiku Kaikaku* [Education Reform in Postwar Japan]. In ten volumes. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press. 1969–75.

This superb series should be brought to the attention of any American studying the American Occupation of Japan (1945–52). Begun in 1958 at Tokyo University, the series, project editor Kaigo Tokiomi tells us, soon received valuable aid from American scholars who collected materials and suggested alternate points of view. The ultimate result provides specialized treatment of such areas as administration, finance, teacher training, curriculum, and "social education" or generalized studies for those not enrolled full time in schools. The first volume (actually the next to last published) will be generally helpful to nonspecialists, as it narrates the general themes of the series and focuses in particular upon the *mondaiten* ("problem points"), those sticky issues that still divide conservative and radical members of the Japanese educational world. Most of these revolve around the political struggles between teachers and ministry of education officials, a pattern distressingly familiar to any student of postwar Japanese education.

What students of the Occupation may find most interesting, however, is the information that the series gives on the degree to which the Occupation "reversed course" as a result of the Cold War. This series shows how the patterns of reform were worked out by the Stoddard Mission, a group of Americans who visited Japan in March 1946, after close consultation with their counterpart Education Reform Council (*Kyōiku Sasshin Iinkai*). Within the next year or so, attempts were made to simplify the Japanese written language, to shift many powers from the central ministry of education to local gov-

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ernment, to extend required schooling from six to nine years, and to combine the traditional multitrack system into an American-style, coeducational, single-track "6–3–3–4" system of elementary school, junior and senior high, and four- (later also two-) year colleges. The initial hope, in sum, was to switch from an allegedly German-style educational system that was geared to the production of a few highly trained and extremely self-conscious members of the elite, to a mass educational system in which a literate populace would be so informed about democracy that it would never again go to war with the United States.

Some of these ideals were sabotaged, volume 9 suggests, in 1950 when SCAP-CIE (that is, the Civil Information and Education Section of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers) official Walter Crosby Eells suggested that Japanese universities expel Communist Party faculty members for violations of academic freedom. Similarly, volume 4 shows in some detail how the Stoddard Mission's ideals were partially undercut by SCAP-ESS (that is, the Economic and Scientific Section), which wondered where war-torn Japan would ever find the enormous amount of funding necessary to construct a mass educational system. Like most Japanese intellectuals, the authors of this series tend to be progressive in outlook and hence critical of the ministry of education officials who jealously fought to retain their powers. Yet the materials are broad enough to suggest to anyone who wishes to see it this way that many of the reforms did in fact stick and that some of Japan's postwar resurgence can be attributed to a generally intelligent series of American-encouraged reforms.

My point, then, is not that these volumes rule definitively upon such weighty matters, for obviously more primary materials will have to be consulted directly by all those who wish to work in the area. Rather, I submit that these volumes are an ideal reference tool and introduction for all those interested in the period. Balanced, highly informative, and quite readable, they identify sources and areas of concern. Given the happy fact that the archives are now open and many "Occupationaires" are still alive, the reform of education in postwar Japan ought to be the subject of seminars, theses, books, and, yea verily, even lectures in undergraduate courses. This series is the place to begin that study. It is a credit to Japanese scholarship and to the long labors of the many people who brought the series to fruition.

PETER FROST
Williams College

GARY D. ALLINSON. *Suburban Tokyo: A Comparative Study in Politics and Social Change.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, for Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley. 1979. Pp. xv, 258. $18.75.

Political developments in Japan over the past year or so have been puzzling. The long-dominant, majority Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has ranked first in successive elections since 1960 but has suffered a steady decline in its share of the popular vote. On the other hand, the main opposition represented by the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) has also paid the price of declining support because of weak organization at the local level and a poor public image. The floating, independent, and largely unpredictable voters—their numbers approached and then passed 30 percent of the popular vote—plagued the political professionals. Although conservative (LDP)-centrist coalitions did very well in local by-elections in 1979, the governing LDP (under Premier Masayoshi Ohira) faced a leadership crisis after the national elections for the lower house in October.

One explanation of these complex developments is this excellent, in-depth analysis of contextual political change with emphasis on the social environment in which it occurs. The target of Gary D. Allinson's research is the suburb, defined as "a rather densely inhabited, autonomous political entity where commuting, white-collar workers in the tertiary sector (and their families) are the largest social group" (p. 4). These Japanese now make up a third or more of the total population.

The method employed by the author is explicitly comparative since it focuses on two suburban communities located just beyond the twenty-three wards in the center and on the periphery of the old city of Tokyo. Musashino (1975 population, 139,493) and Fuchū (1975 population, about 180,000) share effects of the explosive growth of the so-called Santama region in which they are situated, an area that increased in population by 252 percent in a decade and a half, 1950–75. In other respects the neighboring communities are quite different. The author's approach is implicitly comparative as well, since it sharply contrasts the evolution of suburban Japan with that of suburban America.

Although Allinson is a historian, he has much to offer to the political scientist. He is convinced that, to understand the segmented polity that has arisen in suburban Tokyo, one must employ a variety of techniques in addition to aggregate survey research. And thus the reader is treated to approaches used by several disciplines: that of the anthropologist as participant observer (and use of the knowledgeable informant); that of the sociologist concerned with demographic analysis (and with social structure); and that of the historian trying to bring to life as-

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pects of the past (in language of the present). The book presents fascinating landscapes of the Santama region in the four decades before 1923. The story of the initial phase of suburban development begins with destruction from below, in the earthquake of 1923, and ends with destruction from above, in the air raids of 1945. The author explains how, in the postwar recovery period, 1945–60, suburban growth dramatically altered the social environment in some communities (for example, Musashino) and paradoxically reinforced social continuity in other settlements (for example, Fuchū). There is a persuasive explanation of the patterns of growth along burgeoning electric railways (for example, the Chūō and the Keiō lines).

The volume concentrates on aspects of partisan change but also examines in detail other facets of political behavior: party participation, voter mobilization, recruitment of leaders, and the roles of pressure groups and voluntary organizations. The study should be of interest to students of comparative politics and of urban affairs, as well as to the area-language specialists involved in the study of Japan's social history.

The author is a member of the department of history at the University of Pittsburgh and is the author of a previous work, *Japanese Urbanism: Industry and Politics in Kariya, 1872–1972* (1975).

ARDATH W. BURKS
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SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI. *English Historical Writings on the Indian Mutiny, 1857–1859.* Calcutta: World Press Private. 1979. Pp. vii, 368. $11.00.

Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri is a distinguished scholar of modern India whose writings on the revolt of 1857 remain of fundamental importance. It is therefore particularly disappointing to see his name associated with this rehash of mutiny literature, which evaluates works only in terms of their closeness to his viewpoint.

Clearly, in Chaudhuri's judgment, nothing short of 1857 as a national war of independence will do. The very tired dialogue with R. C. Majumdar is carefully resurrected without any fresh insights other than some reflections on Majumdar's personality. We learn, for example, that popular participation in the revolt filled Majumdar with such indignation that he "lost sight of . . . its sweep and breadth and made little effort to fathom the depths" (p. 190). The political propagandist V. D. Savarkar, on the other hand, whom Chaudhuri says is a historian "if the purpose of history is to stir a nation to action" (p. 170), has given us nothing short of "a relevation" (p. 171). British scholarship is collectively damned after the author sets up some obvious targets and then shoots them down. By carefully selecting a few contemporary sources that echo Victorian rantings, Chaudhuri can conclude that "British historians of the Indian Mutiny do not seem to have shed any of their ideas on India and still persisted on the racial issue and the facile theory of the battle between civilization and barbarism" (p. 276).

Throughout the work there is a painful lack of moderation and an absence of critical historical judgment. Not only is 1857 a pivotal event, it is "the most formidable revolt which had ever broken out against a foreign domination" (p. 7). As for the explanation as to why the revolt failed, Chaudhuri's answer is as simplistic as the early British accounts he rightly condemns. Early British writing dismissed the popular nature of the revolt and focused on military disaffection with the Enfield rifle. Chaudhuri now completes the circle by ignoring the popular nature of the collapse of the revolt, attributing the loss to the sepoys' refusal to use the rifle in battle. The Enfield rifle started the war and then proceeded to lose it. This may be good melodrama but it is bad history.

The organization of the text is so arbitrary, circular, and disjointed as to border on the bizarre. It is also put together with appalling carelessness. Typographical errors abound and the titles of such important bibliographical works as Ladendorf's are incorrectly given in the text. In the case of Thomas R. Metcalf's *Aftermath of Revolt*, the author's name is misspelled, the book is incorrectly subtitled, and the date of publication is wrong.

If this work has any value at all, it lies in Chaudhuri's reminder that the revolt will never be understood if we allow the Highlanders and Fusiliers to dominate the stage and to dwarf both India and the Indians. The uprising was an Indian movement, and it must be seen in Indian terms and not as a giant playing field where British heroism could find full expression.

E. I. BRODKIN
Connecticut College

R. J. MOORE. *Churchill, Cripps, and India, 1939–1945.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 152. $19.95.

The British Indian Empire began to change from an asset to a liability after the Amritsar massacre of 1919 and the consequent mass mobilization by Gandhi. By 1935 Britain had passed the Government of India Act, which laid the way for eventual independence twelve years later. Its most vehement opponent was Winston Churchill, who was kept from office by the Conservative Party largely because of this recalcitrance. Churchill was to lead the wartime government to victory against Germany. It

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is central to R. J. Moore's thesis that Churchill had not changed his views about India. He did everything possible to sabotage any attempts to use the wartime situation to advance Indian independence.

By the late 1930s the friends of India in Britain were largely concentrated in the Labour Party, with which Gandhi, Nehru, and Krishna Menon retained close contact. On Labour's left was Stafford Cripps, eventually expelled for his advocacy of a popular front with Communists and Liberals directed against Conservative foreign policy. Cripps was thus very useful in negotiating with India and the Soviet Union, whose leaders had good cause to be suspicious of Churchill. Cripps had already dealt unofficially with the Indian National Congress at the end of 1939 when Labour was not in the cabinet and the threat from Japan had not materialized. By 1942 the situation was far more acute. Cripps was sent to India in March to gain acceptance for a cabinet declaration offering a postwar constituent assembly in exchange for full British control over wartime Indian defense.

Cripps's mission failed within a month. Moore makes out a convincing case for a "Churchill-Linlithgow axis" that conspired against the slim possibility of success. Despite the involvement of Roosevelt's representative, Colonel Louis Johnson, who developed a joint formula with Cripps favoring Indian participation in defense policy making, the alliance between the British prime minister and the viceroy was too powerful. As Moore concludes, "the Cripps mission was crushed by the monolithic millstones of Churchillian Conservatism and Congress nationalism."

This study is based on papers now publicly available in Britain. Moore's case is well made and is quite convincing. The Indian actors, however, appear as rather shadowy figures. They probably had a better idea of Churchill's intrigues than did Cripps, whose previous political behavior had been rather naive. One important Indian who does not appear at all is Subhas Chandra Bose, who was collaborating with the Japanese and the Indian National Army that they had organized. This excellent study casts doubt on the long-accepted myth that India might have achieved its independence just as easily under a postwar Churchill government as it did under Attlee's Labour Party.

JAMES JUPP
Canberra College of Advanced Education

JAMES M. FREEMAN. *Untouchable: An Indian Life History.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 421. $18.95.

James M. Freeman, an anthropologist, has "created" the life history of an Indian untouchable, Muli, a forty-year old man of the Bauri caste in Orissa. Muli lives in a village of almost 3,000 people near Bhubaneshwar, the state capital; the Bauris are the second largest of the twenty local castes, but they are among the lowest in the caste hierarchy. Freeman states that, given the limited opportunities available to untouchables, there are three possible adaptations for Bauris: unskilled laborers; shamanistic faith healers; and transvestites, pimps, and prostitutes (p. 34). Muli represents the third group.

The book is the result of six months of daily interviews in Muli's language, Oriya, conducted by Freeman and an assistant in 1971–72. They translated their notes into English and edited Muli's narrative for publication. Following an introduction, a discussion of methods, and delineation of the ethnographic setting, the life history material is presented in twenty-six episodic chapters. A final chapter analyzes the life history, following David G. Mandelbaum's three organizing principles of dimensions, turnings, and adaptations. Much of Muli's account, the "text," is in the form of conversations that accompanied past events.

The book is a rare source of details about life at the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy in India. Concern with work, food, and sex and with family and village relationships is constant, expressed in distinctively lower-caste idioms. Muli is an expressive and vivid storyteller. The focus is, however, external; as an internal view of a life history, the book is less successful.

Freeman is explicit about the problems that faced him as he tried to find out about "an ordinary untouchable from the untouchable's point of view" (p. 6), but his account of his methods leaves one dissatisfied. He states that "Muli was clearly at his best, not when directed, but when allowed to develop his story in his own way" (p. 15), then tells of Muli's shortcomings as an informant and says "we worked for several days showing him what we considered important; he tried to follow our directions, but with little success." Aware of the joint nature of his enterprise, Freeman gives examples of the ways in which he and his Brahman assistant from the village questioned, probed, and clarified Muli's narrative as it proceeded. The data are detailed and fascinating, but, as Freeman himself cautions the reader, Freeman's biases have become part of the life history.

Freeman sees Muli as engaged in purely transactional relationships with higher-caste men while maintaining a hopeless fantasy of friendship with these customers of his labor or his prostitutes. Yet Muli, working as a sharecropper for a Brahman landholder, was "the first untouchable in the village to publicly challenge and insult a Brahman" (p. 354), and his son was the first Bauri child from the village to complete three years of school and enter

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high school (p. 380). These circumstances are puzzling in light of the data presented. Despite the many details, one feels that Muli is still an enigma, that a private and fuller explanation of his "turnings" and "adaptations" lies beyond Freeman's conscientious attempts to create his life history.

KAREN LEONARD
University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL L. POPKIN. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xxi, 306. Cloth $14.95, paper $4.95.

How have peasants reacted to the commercialization of agriculture and to their incorporation into an expanding world economic system and how best, in their own interests, should they? Was that momentous transformation a Good Thing, and was it welcomed as such by the majority of precapitalist farmers? The loose coalition of broadly leftist scholars whom Samuel L. Popkin dubs "moral economists" believe it was not. How uniform a group they are and whether Popkin merely refutes his own caricature of them (as he admits is possible) are, however, arguable matters.

Grounded in what he calls "political economy" (here understood more in its nineteenth-century, neoclassical sense than with its current neo-Marxist connotations), Popkin's book has two parts: a formal theoretical statement juxtaposing the moral and political economy positions; and, to vindicate the latter, a quite extended consideration of the development of modern Vietnamese society and peasant movements. His chosen adversaries include the anthropologist Eric Wolf and the economic historian E. J. Hobsbawm—though not, surprisingly, E. P. Thompson, social historian and begetter of the "moral economy" concept. But as an Asianist Popkin has as his principal target James C. Scott, political scientist and author of *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (1976). Where Scott sees village solidarity, reciprocity, and a rough communal egalitarianism, Popkin finds only division, self-seeking, and inequality. Where Scott emphasizes the particularity of diverse cultural contexts and values, Popkin builds his deductive argument upon what he sees as an investment logic of individual stratagems that purportedly express a universal economic mentality. While for Scott the creation of a market in land erodes a whole matrix of peasant institutions, for Popkin these customary arrangements were far from ideal and were, in fact, generally mechanisms for the exercise and legitimation of a village elite's local domination. Where Scott, therefore, sees traditional social arrangements as providing certain benefits to peasants, Popkin regards this view as a dangerous romanticization of the plight of struggling countryfolk all too eager to break loose from customary constraints that have long kept them subordinate.

Popkin's arguments (especially his discussion of patron-client relations) are challenging, and his analysis of how Vietnamese rural society responded to colonial intrusion is often revealing. But, for all its ingenuity, elegance, and scholarly breadth, his polemic seems based upon a misconception. To argue that village arrangements may often have failed actually to produce equality or maximize welfare does not refute the "moral economists." For them the premodern village economy is a moral one not because it automatically and directly produced moral outcomes but because it was based upon a distinctive economic rationality. This was not the individualistic and materialistic calculus of Gradgrindian "political economy" but a complex of beliefs concerning a person's entitlement to a culturally defined subsistence. These beliefs and entitlements rested upon moral expectations that were or, it was held, should be set against those other market-promoted grounds of choice making. Anthropologists no longer ask whether exotic folk are irrational or rational just like us. Generally they are neither, and in any given case the task of analysis is to discern the culturally distinct system of rationality that informs their behavior. One may reason brilliantly while thinking otherwise—Popkin, whose arguments raise issues of cardinal importance for students of rural society worldwide and from several disciplines, repeatedly does—yet still be wrong, a prisoner of limiting cultural preconceptions, in equating market morality with human nature.

CLIVE S. KESSLER
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U.S. STATE HISTORY

A collection of review essays on the "States and the Nation" series, published by W. W. Norton, New York, 1976–79, for the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville. $9.95 each.

VIRGINIA VAN DER VEER HAMILTON. *Alabama.* 1977. Pp. xv, 189; DAVID L. LEWIS. *District of Columbia.* 1976. Pp. xiii, 208; GLORIA JAHODA. *Florida.* 1976. Pp. xi, 210; HAROLD H. MARTIN. *Georgia.* 1977. Pp. xii, 212; STEVEN A. CHANNING. *Kentucky.* 1977. Pp. xv, 222; CARL BODE. *Maryland.* 1978. Pp. xvi, 204; WILLIAM S. POWELL. *North Carolina.* 1977. Pp. xviii, 221; LOUIS B. WRIGHT. *South Carolina.* 1976. Pp. xiv, 225; WILMA DYKEMAN. *Tennes-*

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see. 1975. Pp. xv, 206; LOUIS D. RUBIN, JR. *Virginia.* 1977. Pp. xii, 228; JOHN ALEXANDER WILLIAMS. *West Virginia.* 1976. Pp. xi, 212.

Falling class enrollments, limited occupational mobility, smaller attendance at professional conferences, and reduced subscriptions to historical journals all combine to produce both an abstract and a personal recognition that the art of historical studies in the United States is in the midst of a depression. At least academic history has lost its readership among the public at large, and student preferences hint at no resurgence in the near future. Fictional and semi-fictional biographies of men like Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson stare from rotating bookracks at every drugstore and airport in the country while consummate works of scholarship go unread. Meanwhile, collectors of nostalgia and renovation buffs avidly seek to recapture the past through physical artifacts, and genealogical research has become one of the nation's most popular hobbies as people hunger for what are now called roots. The recent bicentennial binge revealed a vast, sometimes inchoate fascination with bygone eras and forgotten fads. At the same time, then, that Americans in general evidence a not inconsiderable interest in their heritage, academic scholars of the past often consider themselves unappreciated, watch their works go largely unnoticed outside a tiny professional audience, and sometimes feel the sting of unemployment. Why, when public curiosity about yesteryear seems so bountiful, do historians experience symbolic famine? It was in an effort to bridge the gap between popular pastimes and professional research on past times that the eleven volumes here reviewed were published as part of the "States and the Nation" series by W. W. Norton and Company.

The entire set of fifty-one books (on each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia) was underwritten by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the American Association for State and Local History administered the project in cooperation with an editorial board of distinguished authors, editors, and historians. A conscious attempt was made to choose authors representing a variety of backgrounds, and each contributor was given wide leeway to produce an informed and intuitive characterization of his or her state. In the words of James Morton Smith, general editor of the series, included as an "Invitation to the Reader" printed in each volume, the authors were asked for "a summing up—interpretive, sensitive, thoughtful, individual, even personal—of what seems significant about his or her state's history. What distinguishes it? What has mattered about it, to its own people and to the rest of the nation? What has it come to now?" It was evidently intended that the competency of the various authors would guarantee the respect of professional historians, and the absence of monographic footnotes, dissertation style, and historiographical squabbles would attract a wide general readership. Here was to be a bicentennial production more lasting than fireworks and parades.

Despite their variety of authors, the books have a common format. The dust jacket of each carries a striking color photograph of a scene that communicates an important aspect of the personality of the respective state. Each volume contains a handsome pictorial essay whose fifteen well-chosen photographs by a prominent regional photographer offer a visual interpretation of the state's people and land. The texts average about two hundred pages, contain a minimum of footnotes, and conclude with a brief, suggestive bibliographical essay. The authors have employed a number of organizational devices ranging from a straightforward chronological account to more novel approaches. For example, John Alexander Williams in his volume on West Virginia gives as his chapter titles place names in the state where significant events occurred that characterize the chronological period under discussion. Carl Bode offers a variety of biographical vignettes to capture the spirit of different ages in Maryland, but in doing so slights both historical breadth and interpretation. Louis B. Wright provides a detailed treatment of the early history of South Carolina, with numerous autobiographical asides, yet becomes so infatuated with the early period that only the last of his ten chapters treats the Palmetto State after 1865—hardly an up-to-date history. The writing styles also differ greatly, from the lucid prose of Louis D. Rubin, Jr., in his *Virginia* volume, the colorful language of Wilma Dykeman's *Tennessee*, and the elegant interpretive style of Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton in her *Alabama*, to the campy vernacular of Carl Bode's *Maryland.*

Every prospective reader should realize the restrictions under which the authors wrote. Limitations of space forced them to sacrifice detail and breadth of coverage; the absence of extensive documentation is by design, not laziness; and the attempt to write a personal interpretation of each state ensures that not all readers will agree with the summation of their state's historical experience and character. Some critics have decried the volumes for these reasons; I think historians should applaud the concept and, in general, the execution of the series. In an age when historians have lost their audiences, an opportunity for skilled practitioners of the craft to assay a state's history, utilizing the fruits of decades of monographic production and archival research and presenting in clear language a "state-of-the-art" interpretation to a broad public, should be an occasion for rejoicing. In most cases the resulting volumes can be safely recommended as accurate, ju-

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dicious, spritely introductions to a state's history.

The utility of the series is perhaps best indicated by a look at some of the best chapters in individual volumes. Louis D. Rubin, Jr., offers a trenchant account of the decline of Virginia after the "Great Generation" of the Founding Fathers. David L. Lewis provides a moving portrait of Pierre Charles L'Enfant and the physical development of Washington, D. C., along with extensive treatment of the black community within the District. The complicated middle period of Kentucky's history, 1820–60, when the state was drawn both North and South by conflicting forces, is incisively portrayed in Steven A. Channing's *Kentucky*. William S. Powell's discussion of why North Carolina was so different from its immediate neighbors to the north and south and his account of the emerging furniture and textile industries are interesting and persuasive. Harold H. Martin, for thirty-five years a journalist with the *Atlanta Constitution*, utilizes his personal experiences and memories to enliven his account of Georgia politics B.C.—Before Carter. Gloria Jahoda carefully analyzes the enormous changes wrought on Florida by citrus crops, tourists, space rockets, and Disney World. With the eye of a novelist Wilma Dykeman has been unusually successful in painting a word portrait of Tennessee, its land and people, and in presenting the folk culture, especially religion and music, of the region. While John Alexander Williams slights the culture of the West Virginia folk, he provides a vivid account of the state's extractive industries, showing how local politicians and absentee owners contrived to make the state into a colonial economy for their own benefit.

The merits of the eleven volumes under review far outweigh their defects, but several demurrals should be made. There is no excuse for the chronological imbalance of Louis B. Wright's *South Carolina*. Moreover, Wright's volume, along with Harold H. Martin's *Georgia* and Carl Bode's *Maryland*, reveal too great an unfamiliarity with the recent scholarship on their respective states. Probably next to Massachusetts and Virginia, no state has been the beneficiary of more substantial historical research than South Carolina—but that work seldom informs the present account. Similarly, some of the most exciting demographic research for the colonial period has recently been published on seventeenth-century Maryland, but Bode finesses the whole century with a three-page summary of George Alsop's 1666 promotional pamphlet. Harold H. Martin's discussion of Reconstruction in Georgia shows slight acquaintance with revisionist views, and, as do Bode and Wright, Martin gives inadequate treatment to the black component of his state's history.

If Bode's volume is the weakest of the eleven here reviewed, Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton's is the best. Hers is well written, with a sense of humor and a lack of condescension. Based on broad reading in obscure local histories as well as the most recent scholarship, Hamilton has written wisely about the people of Alabama. Her first chapter analyzing the plain folk of the state, pioneers and soldiers, populist farmers and small-town politicians—"The Obscured Ancestors"—is a remarkable social portrait of the white people who have made Alabama what it is, for better or worse. Her second chapter on the state's blacks from slavery to the Selma protests is the most sophisticated and challenging single chapter in the books under discussion. Making careful use of the slave narratives to humanize her account, she has produced one of the best brief statements of the black experience in print. Her book shows what may be achieved in popular (not popularized) history. She instructs the informed and enchants the uninitiated in a small gem of historical writing.

As one would expect, the volumes as a whole emphasize the Civil War, its trauma, and its aftereffects as the central fact of the region's history. For the states sharing the coastline from North Carolina to Alabama, the early presence of Spanish explorers and settlers emerges in striking contrast to the short shrift usually given in American courses and textbooks to Spanish contributions. After all, for a while these regions were part of her borderlands. On the whole the relationships between state and national history are described without losing sight of the local focus. The geographical and personal diversity of the region is emphasized, exploding misleading myths about the "Solid South." The past poverty, the political perversity, and the human promise of the states are revealed in numerous incidents, as well as the sometimes inexplicable affection Southerners feel for their homeland. If a sense of place is particularly strong for Southerners—and these authors would underline that idea—these volumes give good evidence that the region will safely continue its refusal to be homogenized into an undifferentiated national norm. The books are realistic enough to give the lie to facile generalizations about Sunbelt prosperity, yet optimistic enough about the region's natural and human resources to give a sense of heady confidence to present-day Southerners who hear country music in New York City and see a Georgian in the White House. With only one or two exceptions, the volumes under consideration give reason to hope that careful scholars can write short, lucid, interpretive essays that, while honest to the highest aspirations of their craft, can nevertheless be attractive to the educated public. Perhaps we can be optimistic about the future of the past, after all.

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CAROL E. HOFFECKER. *Delaware.* 1977. Pp. xvi, 221; CHARLES E. CLARK. *Maine.* 1977. Pp. xv, 199; RICHARD D. BROWN. *Massachusetts.* 1978. Pp. ix, 246; ELIZABETH FORBES MORISON and ELTING E. MORISON. *New Hampshire.* 1976. Pp. ix, 209; THOMAS FLEMING. *New Jersey.* 1977. Pp. ix, 214; THOMAS C. COCHRAN. *Pennsylvania.* 1978. Pp. xii, 207; WILLIAM G. MCLOUGHLIN. *Rhode Island.* 1978. Pp. xiv, 240.

The American Association for State and Local History intended that each volume in the "States and the Nation" series would be an "interpretive, sensitive, thoughtful, individual, even personal" summing up of the distinctive features of a state's development. If these seven volumes on the Northeast are typical, the series meets this goal. (*New York*, *Vermont*, and *Connecticut* are not yet published.) Certainly each of these works utilizes a different interpretive and organizational framework. The association meant for this series to attract the general reading public rather than to supply new data to scholars. Therefore, professional historians may find these authors' solutions to the common problem of organizing a mass of material more interesting than the material itself.

Charles E. Clark organizes his history of Maine around the images people have had of the region. The land has changed little, he asserts, compared to how people have envisioned it. Organizing a book around states of mind is a risky business, and Clark only partially succeeds. Occasionally there is an image of Maine strong enough to support his narrative. Cotton Mather's late seventeenth-century view of the area as a desert and John Alfred Poor's pre–Civil War vision of Maine as a crucial link in a worldwide transportation network are two such images. More often, however, the image is really only a mood; this is the case with James Sullivan's romantic attachment to the region, which is used in the discussion of the American Revolution and the drive for statehood. Toward the end of the book Clark's use of images appears to be an afterthought. Only at the end of a chapter on the Gilded Age does he tell the reader that the people of the period envisioned Maine as a land of opportunity and exploitation. His concluding image of Maine as a place of retreat, as a vacationland, is more effective. Clark contrasts the visitor's impression of Maine with the real economic difficulties facing the state's residents. All in all, Clark might have done better by discarding his organizing principle of changing images in favor of a more conventional approach.

In *New Hampshire* Elizabeth and Elting Morison do employ a rather conventional narrative framework, but they also are concerned about man's relationship with the land. They argue that in early New Hampshire men "did not impose their will on the land so much as the land imposed its character on them" (p. 50). Today, however, we live in a technological society that is "able to build an environment for our lives that can, in effect, take the place of the natural setting" (p. 198). Their sympathies are clearly with the earlier condition, and they adopt what can only be called a Jeffersonian point of view. The city is approached with a critical eye, whether it is commercial Portsmouth or industrial Manchester. The Morisons prefer the lives of yeomen farmers who live in small towns that blend into the natural landscape. In describing life in the first half of the nineteenth century, they explicitly cite Jefferson's vision as the guiding influence of the time. They suggest that such a vision is appropriate for the future; technology can be adapted to fit the state. Development, in their opinion, must stress light industry that can "be fitted suitably and attractively into the historical scheme, as were the old grist mill and textile mills" (p. 200). Given Elting Morison's other works, the emphasis on technology should not be surprising; the attachment to an agrarian past might be.

Such an attachment is not evident in Richard D. Brown's *Massachusetts.* Apparently he wrote this work using modernization theory as an organizing principle; indeed, at times *Massachusetts* seems to be a case study of themes raised in his book *Modernization.* A society that was once communal and homogeneous becomes individualistic and pluralistic; an economy that was once agricultural becomes industrial. Values and beliefs adequate for an earlier period are replaced by others. In this transformation Massachusetts was typical of the nation and frequently set the pace. The state, for example, led the rebellion against the British and provided a model constitution that balanced individual and societal needs. In the nineteenth century, Massachusetts became an urban, industrial state marked by ethnic and religious diversity, foreshadowing national trends. Dorothea Dix, Samuel Gridley Howe, Lucy Stone, William L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Francis Bowen, and others from Massachusetts helped the country confront problems that came in the wake of economic and social change. The state moved toward a pragmatic pluralism in politics before the rest of the United States and remains a leader on contemporary issues, such as civil liberties, minority and women's rights, and the rights of labor. One need not agree with Brown on the centrality of Massachusetts to the modernization process to appreciate this lively book.

In presenting the history of Rhode Island, William McLoughlin eschews modernization theory in favor of a consensus interpretation; however, his is a curiously ambivalent celebration of the American character. His Rhode Islanders are typical Ameri-

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cans: strong-willed, practical individualists who normally pursue their economic self-interests. Such individualists necessarily come into conflict, but their differences are moderated by a common commitment to political, economic, and religious liberty. In McLoughlin's view this commitment emerged out of the colonial experience, and he clearly admires the tolerance, ingenuity, and flexibility of the founders. He is far less certain about those who came to dominate the state in the nineteenth century. McLoughlin laments the appearance of religious bigotry, first in the Know-Nothing movement and then in later anti-Catholic organizations. He describes the corruption of political liberty by explaining how native Yankee Protestants of the rural areas kept political power by rigging franchise requirements and the apportionment of the legislature and by buying votes. Unfortunately, economic individualism led to the maldistribution of wealth that contributed to political corruption. McLoughlin concludes that the intense individualism of the founders is no longer an adequate guide; " 'free-for-all' individualism," he writes, "must give way to more co-operation, more balance and sharing, more planning in economic, political, and social affairs . . ." (p. 227). In this book one can trace a history of the liberal mind in America as well as the history of Rhode Island.

Thomas Fleming's history of New Jersey falls more into the camp of progressive history. In his opinion, conflict is the hallmark of New Jersey's history, and conflicts arising from social differences have always produced political confrontations. These confrontations, he asserts, have been "between the aristocrats and the average man, between the holders of power and the powerless," and the goal always has been a "more equal liberty" (p. 10). Moreover, the "people" have not yet come to power. Although they have won some victories, they continue to be distracted by lesser issues such as geographic, religious, ethnic, and racial differences. Fleming has written a dynamic book around this theme of conflict; nevertheless, one should approach it with caution. His interpretation of the English civil war overly simplifies complex events. His narrative of colonial politics ignores that the conflicts he describes were largely within an elite. And his analysis of party differences during the Federalist and Jeffersonian eras does not sustain his larger thesis because he fails to discuss state political leaders and issues in detail. Still, one can applaud Fleming's vigorous style, his inclusion of business and labor history, and his commentary on political boss Frank Hague. Given the unsavory reputation of New Jersey politics, one cannot dismiss his interpretive framework completely.

In writing about Pennsylvania, Thomas C. Cochran chose to concentrate on economic developments because "the chief importance of Pennsylvania in the growth of the nation comes from its first providing the essential business basis for the industrial revolution and then taking the lead in carrying it out" (p. 3). Certainly no one can deny the Keystone State's importance in American economic development, which Cochran highlights in a concise, insightful narrative. He skillfully describes the rise of Philadelphia merchants who contributed financial and managerial innovations; the opening of the interior through turnpikes, canals, and railroads; and the rise of industry, especially iron and steel. Unfortunately, the people of the state have been neglected by Cochran. He says too little about ethnic groups, social change, intellectual pursuits, and politics. For example, he does not explain how the constitution of 1776 reveals much about social tensions and much about republican ideology. Moreover, from reading this account one must conclude that Pennsylvanians had virtually nothing to say about slavery. In sum, this is not a well-rounded history of the state, but if one accepts Cochran's premise about Pennsylvania's distinctive contribution to the nation it is a book well worth reading.

Compared to *Pennsylvania*, Carol Hoffecker's *Delaware* is more comprehensive in scope. She divides her work into three topical sections, each of which is then developed chronologically. In each of the parts Hoffecker shows how Delaware has confronted problems that have current significance. In part one she addresses the relationship of man, his technology, and the environment by discussing the changing uses of land in the state's history. For instance, she describes how farmers in the south shifted from grain to peaches to broilers in response to changing transportation technology and human needs. In part two Hoffecker concentrates on ethnic and racial diversity and accommodation; her main emphasis falls on the role of blacks in Delaware's history. Blacks have yet to be assimilated because of the legacy of slavery in the southern part of the state and because of urban tensions in the northern section, a generalization that may apply to the entire nation. Part three takes up the problem of the relationship between democratic political institutions and the power of wealth and big industry. For Delaware this has often come down to determining the proper role of the du Pont family and the Du Pont Company. While regretting that the people of the state have not played a larger role in politics, Hoffecker concludes that the influence of the du Ponts, both personally and through the company, has been frequently constructive and rarely monolithic. Overall, she has said a good deal about the state and has said it in a way that ties the developments in Delaware to national trends.

By reading these works as a group, one comes to see more clearly that national developments can be

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traced through the histories of the states. Moreover, one can see that the Northeast does have a regional unity. The rise of the region to industrial power, the close connection between political power and business interests, and the economic decline of the area as industry moved elsewhere are the major themes of the century after 1815 in each of these books. Current concern over environmental issues is almost as common to them.

On the whole, these are factually accurate, well-written accounts that should attract both professional historians and the general public. They remind us that this nation is a collection of states, a fact too often ignored in American history surveys. The American Association for State and Local History is to be congratulated for conceiving and overseeing this contribution to the nation's bicentennial.

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RICHARD J. JENSEN. *Illinois.* 1978. Pp. xix, 191; HOWARD H. PECKHAM. *Indiana.* 1978. Pp. ix, 207; JOSEPH FRAZIER WALL. *Iowa.* 1978. Pp. xviii, 212; BRUCE CATTON. *Michigan.* 1976. Pp. xiii, 204; WILLIAM E. LASS. *Minnesota.* 1977. Pp. xv, 224; DOROTHY WEYER CREIGH. *Nebraska.* 1977. Pp. xvi, 220; ROBERT P. WILKINS and WYNONA H. WILKINS. *North Dakota.* 1977. Pp. xii, 218; WALTER HAVIGHURST. *Ohio.* 1976. Pp. ix, 211; JOHN R. MILTON. *South Dakota.* 1977. Pp. xv, 200; RICHARD NELSON CURRENT. *Wisconsin.* 1977. Pp. xiv, 226.

Back in the days when history graduate students took courses labeled "historiography" and maintained note files on articles refuting the Turner thesis, another lively topic was American regionalism. This, too, seems to have fallen in esteem to about the level of my cards on Harry Elmer Barnes. Now comes a momentary revival of regionalism as a convenience for reviewing the official bicentennial state histories.

In a marathon read through volumes on the ten states bounded by Ohio, Michigan, North Dakota, and Nebraska, I discovered that American regionalism is alive and well and living in the Midwest. It is heartening to find our seemingly homogenized society harboring strong regional identifications within the confines of state boundaries that defy the logic of the land. These identifications range from South Dakota's East River and West River folk (*South Dakota*, p. 141) to the regional schizophrenia of Ohio carried to the point that: "To any other part of the nation an Ohio candidate could not seem alien" (*Ohio*, p. 196). Indiana, on the other hand, may have a little trouble establishing a regional diversity beyond Yankees and upland Southerners in their respective sections, but then one does not think of the mayor of Gary as a "Hoosier." The other states have worked out internal regional identities that are societal as well as geographical, and not simply urban versus rural. At any rate, they are differences of a more tangible character than those conveyed by the designation "midwestern."

This series has avoided homogenization by inviting each author to write a personal interpretation of his or her state's history and the society developed within its borders. Lined up on the shelf, the ten volumes belie their variety. All of a size (two hundred pages), with the color photo jackets off they look like a garage sale item picked up for Dick Cavett's conversation pit.

One other feature shared in common should be mentioned. Each volume has a photographer's essay of sixteen, full-page, black and white prints tipped in near the middle of the book. One looks in vain for anything more than the photographers' names. The book jackets celebrate the authors, then the credits become institutional. Four photographers shared the task of furnishing the ten essays. I would hand the palm to David Plowden, who evokes the Dakotas. What he did was to stay out of town with his camera. The others can plead that they had to deal with more variety and a want of stark simplicities. One item they have in common is an eye for small-town Gothic and scroll saw frantic that are, however, American universals. This remark does not do justice to their efforts, which defy easy simplification.

As one of five delinquent authors of a series, it took another of the five to point out to me that bringing in fifty manuscripts within a period of three or four years is probably as remarkable as anything else about the bicentennial series. The first requirement had to be: Will he or she deliver? It was an impressive job of handicapping. But then one must give credit where credit is due—to the controllers of the National Endowment for the Humanities grants. Projectors of other series should study their fine print in the contracts.

The ten volumes in hand indicate that general editor James M. Smith was willing to handicap on the basis of more than one system. Where a proven record of past performance was not all that clear, he had cash and the honor of it all to fall back upon. In general, I would give the nod to the literary types first, with professional historians to place or show. Of course the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Among the literary types I place John R. Milton (*South Dakota*), Bruce Catton (*Michigan*), Walter Havighurst (*Ohio*), and Richard N. Current (*Wisconsin*). The others trail off into the field, some sharing the usual defects of local history—a concern with: those who started there or passed through on the way to fame or notoriety; obscure firsts; and the assumption that everyone should remember political

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figures whose contemporary fame extended beyond the state line, some just barely.

Catton (*Michigan*) is without peer in this medium. He and Havighurst (*Ohio*) are experts in addressing the presumed audience for these volumes. Of course, one occasionally wishes that Catton would get beyond Parkman as his authority on Wolfe and Montcalm, but then what would W. J. Eccles have to complain about? But aside from that, and a tendency to drop an occasional profundity on which you draw a blank, Catton is the real professional. He and Havighurst are skilled at carrying along a theme, with occasional unobtrusive nudges of recognition that make the whole thing of a piece. I did worry that Catton, with only twenty pages to go, seemed to be content to stay in the nineteenth century. He made it, however, with Detroit to furnish a sobering valediction.

Havighurst makes clever use, as a leitmotif, of the fire and brimstone of the *New England Primer* contrasted with the homely optimism of Ohio's William McGuffey. Catton's less precise figure is the necessity for practicing the "art of associating together." William E. Lass finds "Minnesotans have unbounded faith in government to solve those problems which seem too big to handle save by collective action" (p. 19). Milton celebrates the individualism of South Dakotans, then and now. A native son of South Dakota, Hubert Humphrey, made a happy transition to Minnesota. George McGovern will have to fend for himself. Individualism does not extend to farm parity prices.

The new generation of historians is not much represented in these volumes. Richard J. Jensen (*Illinois*) qualifies and is still on the shady side of forty. He has definitely heard of women in history and not as a separate, obligatory section. He also gives adequate attention to blacks. Four of the ten volumes do not generate so much as an index entry to women; four more have references only to woman suffrage or women's rights—including the two volumes with women as authors. I am sure that Willa Cather got lost somewhere in the index cards for Dorothy Weyer Creigh's *Nebraska*, but the best way for a woman to make it into these volumes was to be a writer of national stature. Of the older generation, Joseph Frazier Wall (*Iowa*) is a notable exception to this oversight. Everyone is right with American Indians, especially prior to 1850.

For sheer perversity Jensen wins the prize. His essay on Illinois requires the casual reader to learn the categories, presumably from his dissertation, identified as pietists and liturgists, traditionalists and modernists, and post-modernists. I had trouble with *The Winning of the Midwest*, and finding that Everett Dirksen was once a "talented young modernist" (p. 139) overloaded my circuits. In extenuation, Jensen is most interesting on twentieth-century society, when he forgets his categories.

The idea of turning the authors loose to find their own way home was quite a success. It would be unfair to characterize any of the ten volumes as pedestrian. Some of them suffer by comparison with the real phrase makers, but all have their moments. Lass, on Minnesota, is excellent from a neighboring state historian's view. Wall had me nodding, then brought me awake with a surprising rhapsody on the implications of hybrid corn for his *Iowa*. Without surrendering to the temptation to name every author, with a thumbnail characterization of the book, I did enjoy the visits. Telling why one's state is what it is makes for interesting conversation. That's what, essentially, these books are.

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HARRY S. ASHMORE. *Arkansas*. 1978. Pp. xxi, 202; LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL. *Arizona*. 1976. Pp. xviii, 154; MARSHALL SPRAGUE. *Colorado*. 1976. Pp. ix, 204; KENNETH S. DAVIS. *Kansas*. 1976. Pp. xiii, 226; JOE GRAY TAYLOR. *Louisiana*. 1976. Pp. xi, 194; JOHN RAY SKATES. *Mississippi*. 1979. Pp. xii, 188; PAUL C. NAGEL. *Missouri*. 1977. Pp. xiv, 205; MARC SIMMONS. *New Mexico*. 1977. Pp. xiv, 207; H. WAYNE MORGAN and ANNE HODGES MORGAN. *Oklahoma*. 1977. Pp. xv, 190. JOE B. FRANTZ. *Texas*. 1976. Pp. xiv, 222.

In general the volumes in this series tend toward celebration rather than analysis. The authors are either native or long-adopted sons. They relish describing what makes the land and the people of their states different. This sense of separateness within the nation provides a guiding philosophy for the series as a whole. Understandably, local color, legends, prejudices, and problems dominate the text as the authors attempt to portray the character and spirit of a state. Also understandable is an occasional hint of Chamber-of-Commerce cheerleading. But the reading is usually easy and fun. Most historians would do well to study the techniques of these master writers. As four-hour introductions to a state, these volumes have no peer. They may be the best choice of textbook for a state history course. If not, their brief bibliographies discuss the competition.

The historical and ideological mainstream is well covered in the volumes at hand. But do not look for nuance, criticism, or any of the "new" varieties of social and political history. Thus Lawrence Clark Powell's *Arizona* is primarily an appreciation of the processes that made the desert blossom into the nation's fastest-growing state. Only occasionally does Powell recognize the environmental costs of Arizona's progress and the time bomb of water shortage on which the modern state sits. Wild rivers were "tamed," according to Powell. He chooses not to

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recognize the extensive nationwide protest this process elicited, particularly with reference to the Colorado River.

Marshall Sprague's *Colorado* is a successful distillation of standard overviews such as James Michener's *Centennial* and Frank Waters's *Colorado*. We see how Indian wars, mining, railroads, tourism, and, finally, water and energy development left their mark on the state. But from Sprague's account we might conclude Colorado began at Denver and extended west. The high plains are shortchanged.

New Mexico, it might be argued, is the most culturally and politically diverse of all the states. Marc Simmons recognizes the successive impact of Indians, Spanish, Mexicans, and Americans. The conflicts between these cultures, such as the little-known Pueblo Revolt of 1680 that challenged Spanish control for two decades, are well covered.

"Texas," writes Joe B. Frantz, "is a land of contradictions," and he does a commendable job of integrating them into two hundred pages. Frantz is adept at disentangling the complex story of Texas's transformation from Mexican province to Lone Star independence and, finally, to membership in the United States.

With historians of the stature of H. Wayne Morgan on its side, "The States and the Nation" series commands serious attention. *Oklahoma*, coauthored by Anne Hodges Morgan, struggles to overcome the state's lack of an "intense sense of place in national thinking." Oklahoma's use as designated "Indian Territory" for a half-century is treated with fairness and accuracy. Another political conflict gives Kenneth S. Davis his main theme for *Kansas*. It concerns the tensions between human freedom and the freedom to own and transport property that was human. In "Bleeding Kansas" Davis describes how Kansas as a body politic emerged from this clash. It would be hard to find a more readable short treatment of the 1850s in Kansas.

Harry S. Ashmore regarded his assignment to the Arkansas volume as a "bicentennial summing up." Understandably the best part of his book treats the racial tension that Ashmore covered as Pulitzer-prize-winning editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*. In *Missouri* Paul Nagel chooses to write about people, and from Thomas Hart Benton to Harry S. Truman they stride forth to dominate the text. Chronology interests Nagel less than related ideas. Two of his chapters should have been required of every author in the series: "Missouri in America's Imagination" and "America in Missouri's Imagination."

"Corruption," Joe Gray Taylor writes, "has been more or less institutionalized in Louisiana politics since the colonial period." The treatment of Huey P. Long, entitled "Bottom Rail on Top," is particularly intriguing. According to John Ray Skates, the "race question" is the "central theme of Mississippi history." Outsiders, he adds, cannot understand all its dynamics, but this balanced assessment by a native white scholar will help.

Given their space limitations (150–200 pages), the broad brush strokes of these volumes are inevitable. But it would be hard to find as consistently good historical writing in any ten volumes. This is not to dismiss the books as journalism. Scholarship is present but nicely subordinated in the interest of reader appeal. For selected topics the student and nonspecialist will find here the best available treatment.

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WILLIAM R. HUNT. *Alaska*. 1976. Pp. xiv, 200; DAVID S. LAVENDER. *California*. 1976. Pp. ix, 243; F. ROSS PETERSON. *Idaho*. 1976. Pp. xi, 203; CLARK C. SPENCE. *Montana*. 1978. Pp. xi, 211; ROBERT LAXALT. *Nevada*. 1977. Pp. xi, 146; GORDON B. DODDS. *Oregon*. 1977. Pp. xiv, 240; CHARLES S. PETERSON. *Utah*. 1977. Pp. ix, 213; NORMAN H. CLARK. *Washington*. 1976. Pp. xix, 204; T. A. LARSON. *Wyoming*. 1977. Pp. ix, 198.

As part of the nation's bicentennial observance, the American Association for State and Local History commissioned volumes on each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia. Under the general editorship of James Morton Smith, each author was asked to write an independent essay summing up what "seems significant about his or her state's history." As one might expect in such a undertaking, some of the authors have succeeded well and others less well in accomplishing that task.

Clark C. Spence's book on Montana, for instance, is at once witty and insightful. Concentrating on economic development, Spence has captured the humor and conflict in the history of the people of his native state. Both cattle ranching and the war of the Copper Kings play a central role in the narrative.

Robert Laxalt's book on Nevada, by contrast, is intensely personal and anecdotal. This is clearly Laxalt's Nevada, and the emphasis is on the experiences of various groups of people through his eyes. Thus, ethnic types, particularly the Basques, and anecdotal experiences come across much more clearly than many central figures and events in the state's history.

Gordon B. Dodds's volume on Oregon emphasizes the essential homogeneity and conservatism of the people. Even the political reforms of the Progressive period associated with leaders like William U'Ren are seen as basically conservative. Oregon grew up as a transplanted midwestern agricultural community, and the temperament and cultural style of the Midwest seem to have predominated.

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T. A. Larson's essay on Wyoming adopts an interesting interpretive technique. Wyoming is seen as the place that everyone wanted to pass over. Until recently, there was very little to hold a large population to the Cowboy State. That pattern may be changing now as the extremely valuable oil and coal resources have created boom towns of many of the urban centers.

As one might imagine, Charles S. Peterson's Utah is Mormon Country. Though he deals with other ethnic groups and sketches in developments during the twentieth century, the book interprets principally the growth of and challenge to Mormon "near-nationalism" in the nineteenth century.

F. Ross Peterson develops several important themes in his history of Idaho. One is that the politics of the Gem State have tended to be oriented to personalities rather than parties. Thus the people of the state sent liberal Frank Church and ultra-conservative George Hansen to Congress at the same time. Peterson's concern with conservation and the effect of development on Idaho are also central themes in the essay.

For David S. Lavender, California has been a state of rapid—perhaps too rapid—growth since its acquisition by the United States during the Mexican War. A state in which the extreme and bizarre have been the norm, California led the nation in developing trends as diverse as the gold rush and the student protest movement. Today, Lavender sees the state as beset by indecision as citizens try to map directions for the future.

Norman H. Clark's book on Washington relies upon a biographical approach. The early part of the book is a commentary on the centennial speech of Elwood Evans, while the remainder concentrates on the careers of a number of prominent people as a means of telling the state's story. Mary Awkwright Hutton, for instance, typifies the social and political rebel who led the fight for women's rights. Ernest Lister represents the middle-of-the-road politician who failed to see the needs of urban-industrial society.

Alaska by William R. Hunt emphasizes the ambivalence of the people of that state. Alaskans have carried on a love-hate relationship with the federal government. On the one hand, they have traditionally pressed for government to do more to assist in development, while on the other, they have wanted to be free of governmental controls and inaction, which seemed to hinder their development.

Since the authors were asked "not for comprehensive chronicles, nor for research monographs or new data for scholars," one may assume that the books, in addition to their aspect as a "summing up . . . of what seems significant," are designed for the general reader. By those criteria, two of the essays seem to be less satisfactory than the rest. Laxalt's on Nevada is intensely personal, and it is often difficult to see the relationship between the particular cultural group or anecdote in which Laxalt's interest lies and the general themes to which all interested in the state might be drawn. In Clark's essay on Washington, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the careers of particular individuals. Here, also, one often misses the general picture because of extensive detail on individual lives.

As one might expect, there are certain regional aspects that each of the volumes have in common. All of the states except Oregon experienced mining booms of varying duration and intensity. In Montana, for instance, the political history of much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was shaped by conflicts within the community of mining entrepreneurs and between the mineral companies and others in the state. Idaho became a territory in part because of the discovery of minerals in western Washington, and Utah's ethnic diversity owes much to the people attracted by the mineral lands. The development of Alaska owes much to mining, and the current importance of oil in the United States promises to be significant in the future development of Wyoming and Alaska.

Each of the states was inhabited at first by a diverse group of native Americans. Ranging over types as varied as the settled and relatively wealthy Indians of southern Alaska to the impoverished Piutes and the heroic Nez Perce, these people were generally displaced—often with considerable cruelty and generally with disregard for vested rights—by migrating whites. In at least one case, however, the degree of the cruelty and deceit is overstated. Clark insists that Governor Isaac Stevens forged signatures on the Medicine Creek treaty with the Nisqually. Kent Richards's recent work on Stevens's life indicates that though Stevens was probably not forthright with the Indians in explaining the consequences of the treaty he did not forge the signatures.

With the apparent exception of Oregon, World War II seems to have had an enormous economic impact on the states. California probably received the greatest absolute infusion of money and population from the war, but Alaska, Washington, and Utah, particularly, were changed irreversibly by the impact of defense spending and internal migration.

As the authors make clear, each of the states has faced and now faces an important struggle because of conflicts over land-use policy centering on battles between conservationists and developers. Perhaps the best treatment of that problem is in Hunt's volume on Alaska. Hunt recognizes and spells out the dangers that lurk behind twists and turns on either path. Like all of the states in the West, Alaska has considerable public land—more both in absolute acres and on a percentage basis than any of the

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other states. Alaskans have a strong tradition of resenting "outsiders" (their word), and they are fearful both of environmental abuse and of retarded development. Perhaps the major weakness of Ross Peterson's essay is his lack of balance on this issue. His volume becomes almost a case of special pleading against development in a state where personal per capita income lags behind the national average.

Another feature that all of these states share is that they are highly urbanized. The authors of these volumes do not suffer from the myopia of those outside the Far West, who tend to think of the existence of vast unsettled regions as evidence of a basically rural society. Population in all of these states, with the exception of Montana and, to a lesser extent, Idaho and Wyoming, tends to be clustered in highly developed urban areas. The population of Alaska centers in Anchorage and Fairbanks. In Utah population is concentrated on the Wasatch Front. In California it is clustered around Los Angeles, in the Bay Area, and in the Central Valley. In Idaho, Boise and Pocatello are major centers, and the oil boom has changed the character of Wyoming, where Rock Springs grew nearly 500 percent between 1960 and 1976. Eighty percent of Alaska's population is urban, and Fairbanks suffers from worse air pollution than Los Angeles. All of these states face difficulties of urban blight, crime, and air pollution not unlike those of other American urban areas.

Another important aspect of these volumes is the development of themes relating to international affairs and conflict. All of the region either belonged to Spain or Russia or was the subject of conflicting claims between the United States and Great Britain. These international rivalries were punctuated by conflicts over fur trading both in the interior and on the coast. In general, Americans penetrated the region because of the fur trade, and the fur trade became a source of international dispute among the four powers involved in the region.

The region has produced a number of citizens who have played significant roles in shaping foreign relations. One immediately thinks of William Borah and Church from Idaho. Two Americans who became heroes of the Soviet revolution and who were buried under the walls of the Kremlin came from the West; they were Utah's Bill Haywood and Oregon's John Reed.

With the exception of Dodds's volume on Oregon, each of the books tends to be political, economic, and social history rather than cultural and intellectual. Charles Peterson deals to some extent with the ideas of the Mormons, but this is principally as a means of considering the political and economic role that the Latter-Day Saints played. Upton Sinclair and John Steinbeck are mentioned in Lavender's *California*, as are A. B. Guthrie and Charles Russell in Spence's *Montana*, and Vardis Fisher in Peterson's *Idaho*. Dodds, however, provides some insight into the literature and fine arts in Oregon and their place in national history. In general, he concludes that Oregon writers have tended to be more distinguished for their history than for other literary forms, and their architecture has tended to be derivative.

This is a region rich in diversity, with a historical development that has contributed much to our nation. In general, these volumes provide a good introduction to the far western states.

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UNITED STATES

TAMARA K. HAREVEN and MARIS A. VINOVSKIS, editors. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Mathematical Social Science Board Quantitative Studies in History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1978. Pp. xiv, 250. Cloth $25.00, paper $9.75.

This valuable collection is the result of a deliberate cooperative effort organized by Tamara K. Hareven and is sponsored by the Mathematical Social Science Board of the National Science Foundation. It is the eighth volume to appear in the MSSB-supported series, "Quantitative Studies in History," published by Princeton University Press. The essays, commissioned specifically for the anthology, were discussed by the authors during a week-long seminar held at Williams College in July 1974. The volume is dedicated to Charles Tilly, who led the seminar, "for his leadership in advancing interdisciplinary work in social history." Its editors and contributors are noted pioneers in the fields of family and demographic history.

A growing number of observers have recently pointed with concern to what they consider a "crisis" in the social sciences. Among the fields exempted from this general criticism is historical demography. Here it has been possible to probe deeply, yet avoid the intellectual sterility resulting from narrow disciplinary specialization. In large part this results from a focus on the pivotal unit of the family, "the missing link," according to Christopher Lasch, "between the study of culture and the study of social structure, production and power." By studying its relationships across diverse population groups, space, and time to the demographic processes of fertility, nuptiality, migration, and mortality, the resulting scholarship is increasingly integrative and its potential remains great.

The growth of interest in this kind of family history has been remarkably rapid. As a field of scholarly inquiry it barely existed a decade ago. In gen-

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eral, the authors employ the case study approach, quantitative and computer based methods, and micro-level rather than aggregate data. Although they use information for one point in time, their analytic focus is secular; and one marvels at their ability to coax longitudinal conclusions from cross-sectional data. So swiftly has research progressed in recent years that much of what was new and exciting in these essays when they were written, both substantively and methodologically, is today considered standard fare. That much of the methodology introduced is now widely used is testimony to the talents of the authors; that the field has moved well beyond this collection, of course, takes nothing away from its value.

Three of the essays deal primarily with fertility. The consequences of changing population size are felt through every corner of society. Spurred by the awesome population explosion in the Third World, policy makers seek clues to lower birth rates. They look with considerable interest to the American experience: at the start of the last century our birth rates were among the highest in the world and by its close among the lowest. Richard A. Easterlin, George Alter, and Gretchen A. Condran, using micro-level data for over 11,000 individual northern farm households in 1860 and new measures for the surrounding agricultural environs, support and expand upon the notion advanced earlier by Yasukichi Yasuba that the decreasing availability of farmland induced couples to curtail their fertility. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis, using individual household data for five Massachusetts communities in 1880, explore variations in fertility across ethnic groups and urban and rural settings. Ethnicity was found to be the best predictor of fertility differentials; fertility ratios were generally much lower among the natives than the foreign born with the second generation falling midway between these two. Stanley L. Engerman, using published aggregate data, reconstructs the relatively neglected fertility experience of blacks from 1880 to 1940. Nationwide and throughout the period, urban blacks had lower fertility (child-woman) ratios than whites and the fertility of both groups declined steadily. Taken together the fertility essays effectively challenge the "modernization" argument that fertility decline was a response to rapid urbanization and industrialization; the declines appeared long before these processes characterized the cultural or environmental experience of most Americans.

The three other essays deal with household structure and family processes. In general, they represent a second stage of family history research by moving beyond the mere rebuttal of the Parsonian view that the nuclear family emerged as a response to industrialization. Extended families were never a majority. These essays see the household as flexible organizations that expanded and contracted at different stages in the family's life cycle. Howard P. Chudacoff's research on "newlyweds and family extension" in post-Civil War Providence, Rhode Island, and Laurence Glasco's work on migrant families in Buffalo, New York, in 1855, provide excellent examples of this process. They document "the adaptability of urban households to the changing needs resulting from migration or from economic pressures in the early stages of the life cycle." John Modell, using the rich family budget data collected by Carroll Wright for Massachusetts working-class families in 1874 and 1889, helps us understand the functioning of the family economy, labor force participation decisions that affected income and expenditures for different ethnic groups, and how these varied over the family life cycle. This innovative essay explores a host of other topics including immigrant acculturation measured through consumption patterns vis-a-vis native families.

These high-quality essays along with a valuable introduction by the editors make an important contribution to our knowledge of family and population in nineteenth-century America.

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J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH and ELLEN JANE HOLLINGSWORTH. *Dimensions in Urban History: Historical and Social Science Perspectives on Middle-Size American Cities.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 184. $19.50.

Ever since scholars became interested in the development and inner workings of cities they have called for a conceptualization that would permit meaningful comparisons among cities over time. Eric Lampard, for example, suggested nearly twenty years ago that examining interaction among four broad quantifiable categories (population, spatial environment, technology, and social organizations) would enable one to understand the process of urban development and permit comparative analysis. Economic geographers have attempted to classify cities by function—manufacturing, commercial, and so forth—while Redfield and Singer relied on ideal-type constructs. These ideal types, they argued, enable one to determine common urban patterns. Comparative analysis can then measure the degree to which a particular city deviated from a norm and thus identify important issues and/or relationships in a pattern of urban development.

J. Rogers Hollingsworth and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth argue that the majority of urban histo-

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rians continue to ignore such conceptualization or typologies. The plethora of urban histories published during the last decade, they correctly conclude, are organized around a bewildering variety of structures or modes of analyses. Thus whatever patterns exist in these cities defy comparisons with other urban communities.

The Hollingsworths' work provides an important first, if somewhat tentative, step towards developing a useful typology of one group of American cities ranging in size from 10,000 to 250,000 inhabitants. Utilizing concepts from several of the social sciences, the authors contend that middle-size American cities may be classified generally into three types: "autocratic," "oligarchic," and "polyarchic." Autocratic cities, for example, exhibit a highly stratified, often rigid social class system, provide few occupational or social alternatives for its members, and are characterized by a high degree of political autonomy vested in the hands of a small but powerful elite. Nineteenth-century company towns provide the best example of the autocratic city. Polyarchic cities lie at the opposite end of the continuum with oligarchic cities occupying the middle ground.

The identification of crucial structural characteristics, however, is only the initial step in the authors' work. In chapter two they briefly examine three nineteenth-century Wisconsin cities to test the model and illustrate the utility of the conceptual framework. These empirical studies demonstrate convincingly the model's usefulness in examining how the city's structural elements influence public policy outcomes. The analyses of Eau Clair, Janesville, and Green Bay also illustrate the comparative function of the model in a historic setting. The decision, however, to examine only one type of city—oligarchic—unfortunately prevented the authors from considering a question of equal concern to city historians, namely, urban threshold. Application of the model in several types of cities over time may have contributed to our understanding of the process by which a community passes from one type to another. The Hollingsworths interestingly criticize Robert Dahl's choice of New Haven as the site of his early study "because it lay conveniently at hand" (p. 160). Yet one suspects that convenience entered into their choice of Eau Clair, Janesville, and Green Bay.

The final part of this work examines the ways in which the identified structural characteristics interact to influence public policy in more than 275 small American cities and classifies these cities by both structural and policy dimensions. This volume is impressive and useful. It offers an important model for future urban analysis and a framework for comparing the urban experience in different localities. Subsequent urban studies will no doubt modify the conceptual framework offered by the Hollingsworths, but their contribution provides an important initial model.

MICHAEL P. WEBER
Carnegie-Mellon University

JOHN W. REPS. *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 827. $75.00.

According to John W. Reps in *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* the western frontier had its origin in thousands of planned communities. Towns led the way shaping society in advance of an established agricultural population. "Contrary to the Turnerian thesis, these urban centers did not take shape through a process of gradual and random incremental growth that transformed a crossroads hamlet into a town and then perhaps a major city," he states. "Instead, the typical procedure involved the selection of a promising site by an individual, group, church, railroad, corporation, or governmental agencies" (p. x). Most incremental growth came well after the laying of the initial plat, and the communities that attained success differed little from their counterparts on the eastern seaboard. Reps, in a detailed survey of the origins and planning of hundreds of cities from the Maumee River Valley to the Spanish Southwest and the mining camps of Nevada to the railroad towns of North Dakota, provides further endorsement of the view that Frederick Jackson Turner failed to adequately consider the role of cities in the western experience. Even so, Reps's book is far from simply another attack on Turnerian tenets. Rather, a panoramic sweep marks it a celebration of the planning of the urban frontier.

What makes *Cities of the American West* unique is not so much the text as the magnificent illustrations. Reps, using the same technique that has worked so well in his other books, has included 500 rare plans, surveys, and maps. Their visual impact is enhanced by a 10 and 3/8 inch by 8 and 1/2 inch format. Reps gathered the material from over a hundred different depositories, ranging from the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery to the North Dakota State Historical Society. Of special interest are rare plans for Spanish towns on the Texas frontier, such as those for the Presidio of San Sabà near Menard in 1767 and Bahia del Espirita Santo near Golrad in 1767. The vast majority of the plans followed the gridiron pattern, providing a unifying theme for western cities. Most town builders had only limited time, money, and experience. So, there was little to choose between the basic plans of Benecia in California, Leavenworth in Kansas, Prescott in Arizona, and Guthrie in Oklahoma. Thirty-two

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of the illustrations are in color, adding a special quality to the "bird's-eye views" of San Francisco in 1851, St. Louis in 1874, and San Antonio in 1886 that cannot be conveyed in black and white.

This book is in keeping with the high standards expected of the author, generally recognized as the leading authority on the history of American urban planning. The text is based on extensive research in a wide variety of secondary sources, many of which are hard-to-locate articles in regional journals and difficult-to-use old local histories. *Cities in the American West* is a genuinely fine contribution to urban history. It stands as the definitive work on frontier city planning.

LAWRENCE H. LARSEN
University of Missouri, Kansas City

RALPH M. GOLDMAN. *Search for Consensus: The Story of the Democratic Party.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 417. $17.50.

The impulse to commend Ralph M. Goldman for undertaking the entire history of the Democratic party is qualified by exposure to the difficulties that surface in his account. An initial chapter is devoted to conceptual matters; seven more carry the reader from the inception of the party to the election of Carter; and two final chapters return to conceptual themes for the purpose of speculating about future political developments.

Goldman compressed his survey into 373 pages. A book of this size could conceivably make a major contribution if confined to analysis of major turning points in the fortunes of the Democratic Party. Unfortunately, Goldman makes an effort to cover everything, compressing narrative and interpretation to the point where his command of the material is jeopardized. The best section involves an explanation of the political and institutional antecedents of the Democratic Party. Unfortunately, treatment of nineteenth-century elections is so telegraphic as to leave the impression that a handful of managers dictated the outcome, and even these individuals get so little space that they remain cardboard figures. Goldman does better with the twentieth century, enlarging his attention to personalities and dealing in more depth with issues and pressure groups, but what Goldman wants to accomplish would require at least 150 more pages.

Although the book purports to deal with the Democratic Party as a vehicle of consensus, the subject is handled in careless fashion. Goldman provides four definitions of a political party but neither chooses one nor formulates his own. He tells us that the best way to achieve a collective decision is by "the method of number," implying that the existence of a majority testifies to the presence of consensus. This simple yardstick works well enough as an instrument for analyzing the outcome of a particular election, but the trouble with it is that it overlooks the importance of a more durable agreement on fundamental values shared by members of both major parties. Consensus in this larger sense must be present, otherwise losers will not acquiesce peacefully in the election verdict.

In his last two chapters, Goldman mobilizes statistical material to clarify the current status of the party system and to venture predictions about its prospects. Some comments are perceptive, but it is difficult to take seriously his lighthearted speculation that the advent of transnational political parties may be imminent.

GEORGE H. MAYER
University of South Florida, Sarasota

DONALD E. WORCESTER. *The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest.* (Civilization of the American Indian series, volume 149.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1979. Pp. xviii, 389. $15.95.

Veteran historian of the Southwest Donald E. Worcester has undertaken a monumental task, that of writing a history of "the Apaches" in one volume. He approaches his subject with enthusiasm and considerable sympathy for the Native Americans involved. The result is a fine example of historical scholarship.

For many years now non-Indian historians have been fascinated with the "Apache wars" and numerous articles and books have resulted. These works have usually concentrated on the military-bureaucratic aspects of the subject and, quite often, have been sensationalistic, superficial, and anti-Apache in tone. Worcester, as one would expect, has brought a fitting end to this genre. His work, which is neither sensational nor anti-Indian, represents the culmination of such studies, at least in so far as the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona are concerned.

The first forty-nine pages of Worcester's study focus on Athapaskan culture, prehistory, and the Spanish and Mexican periods. This, of course, is far too brief a coverage and cannot be regarded as anything more than an extended introduction to the next two hundred seventy-five pages, in which the struggles between the Apaches and the Anglo-Americans are detailed. Emphasis is placed upon warfare, military strategy, Interior Department policies, and Apache reactions in Arizona, New Mexico, and adjacent sectors of Sonora and Chihuahua. One final brief chapter, by way of conclusion, surveys reservation experiences in this century.

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Worcester is primarily concerned with those Apaches known as Western, Chiricahua, and Mescalero. The Navajo are excluded by design while such other groups as the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Naishañdine (Kiowa Apache) are only marginally studied. The demise of a number of little-known Athapaskan groups, such as the Jano, Jacome, Manso, Suma, Jumano, and Chiso, is largely ignored as are sociocultural topics such as the spread of the peyote religion to the Lipan and other groups.

Worcester does very well what he sets out to do, which in essence is to write a history of military conflict with the Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Western (Tonto-White Mountain) Apaches. One cannot be overly critical if he neglects many subjects that do not directly relate to the U.S.-Apache struggle.

With Worcester's study serving as a key building-block, scholars will now better be able to proceed with future tasks of great import: (1) writing a sociocultural history of the Southern Athapaskans, based in part upon native oral history and other nontraditional sources; and (2) writing a history of the political and economic forces that made both the U.S. soldiers and the Apache defenders pawns of an expanding capitalism and a concomitant colonialism.

JACK D. FORBES
University of California, Davis

ROBERT J. TAYLOR. *Colonial Connecticut: A History.* (A History of the American Colonies.) Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press. 1979. Pp. xvi, 285. $17.00.

During the past fifteen years, a growing body of monographs, journal articles, and doctoral dissertations have analyzed various aspects of colonial Connecticut history. The need for a synthesis and evaluation of this new scholarly work has been filled by Robert J. Taylor's contribution to the series "A History of the American Colonies." Written for both the scholar and lay reader alike, Taylor's study of colonial Connecticut provides an opportunity to establish the colony's unique contribution to early American history. All too often, historians have allowed generalizations based on Massachusetts to speak for the rest of New England.

Taylor starts his analysis with a succinct and straightforward account of the beginnings and growth of the colony. He then continues his discussion of the Connecticut experience in a topical format, taking up politics, the economy, religion, and various social and cultural subjects in separate chapters. He closes his study with a thorough consideration of Connecticut's relationship to the British Empire and its role in the coming of the Revolution. Throughout, Taylor emphasizes the slow, orderly evolution of Connecticut from a closed, seventeenth-century Puritan commonwealth to a more open, eighteenth-century Yankee society. The colony's homogeneous ethnic and religious nature, its deferential political and social order, and its limited economic resources all served to constrain political turmoil and social upheaval, earning the province the title of the "land of steady habits." Taylor does not neglect the various political, economic, and religious differences that did erupt in the colony, but he stresses how such problems were resolved without either the violence or the disruption of the social fabric that often occurred when similar issues arose in other colonies.

The key to understanding Connecticut's history, as Taylor rightfully emphasizes, was the colony's unwavering defense of its charter rights. Under the Connecticut Charter of 1662, the colony was virtually self-governing and neither the people nor their leaders were willing to allow internal dissension or external threats to jeopardize their prized liberties. Fear of crown intervention and possible loss of the charter made it possible to resolve controversies within the existing political and social structure. The ultimate test of Connecticut's commitment to its charter rights came in the crisis of the Revolution. As Taylor says, "rather than see those rights infringed, the colony chose to leave the empire" (p. 247).

A work such as the one under review must be judged on how well it achieves its twin goals of comprehensive synthesis and usefulness to both the scholarly and popular audience. Not surprisingly, some topics are handled better than others. Where the scholarly literature is rich, such as on the operation of the deferential political and social order, religion, imperial relations, and the Revolutionary crisis, Taylor presents an able narrative and cogent interpretation of events and issues. The weakest sections of the book are those dealing with the economy, where the lack of extensive studies handicaps the author, and those discussing the Great Awakening and family and social structure, where he has failed to make adequate use of the extensive recent work available.

On the whole, this is a well-written narrative and balanced interpretation of Connecticut during the colonial era, useful to the broad audience for which it is intended. In addition, the book is well-edited and attractively produced.

WILLIAM F. WILLINGHAM
Lewis and Clark College

ERIC FONER. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1976. Pp. xx, 326. Cloth $15.95, paper $4.95.

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Tom Paine and Revolutionary America appeared four years ago and since then has drawn unstinting praise from reviewers for the skillful way that Eric Foner has stitched the bright red thread of Thomas Paine's American career into the fabric of Philadelphia's artisanal life. With a fine use of selective detail, Foner sets the stage for Paine's arrival in 1774 and then follows him through the conflicts over Independence, the formation of Pennsylvania's Constitutional party, and the politics of wartime price controls that exposed the city's social cleavages. Alongside a very fine analysis of the rhetorical brilliance of *Common Sense* Foner lays the more unfamiliar tale of Paine's enthusiasm for unrestrained economic development. The Paine that emerges is less usable for polemical purposes and more instructive on the mixed modes of eighteenth-century radicalism. In an epilogue that deals with Paine after he left the United States in early 1787, Foner offers us an encore of the man with the incendiary pen—this time through the *Rights of Man*—igniting the inflammable discontents of English artisans. Only in France, where Paine was honored with a seat in the National Convention, did he lose touch with the politically disinherited. Or perhaps we should conclude that Paine's fire required the oxygen of Anglo-American culture.

Since, for very good reason, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* is already being used widely in undergraduate history courses, it is important to consider its thesis. Following the lead of E. P. Thompson, Foner writes, "In both England and America, Paine's brand of republican ideology struck its deepest chords among the artisans; for this reason, the history of that class in this period will be a major focus of this book" (p. xvii). But is this true? One thinks of the "River God" Joseph Hawley rapturously writing about the sentiments of *Common Sense* sinking into his well-prepared heart, of the young lawyer, Luther Martin, clandestinely circulating copies in Maryland, of fiery Thomas Allen reading *Common Sense* to his western Massachusetts congregation. Paine appealed to men of diverse backgrounds precisely because of his evocation of a classless society of honest, enlightened, productive, and free individuals. Would a persuaded artisan have remained artisanal in his outlook? If so, what is the artisanal position on liberal values? Foner faithfully reports Paine's popularity among all ranks and occupations. He also emphasizes Paine's desire to be that "exemplary republican," the man who rises above narrow interests to speak for humanity (p. 99). Indeed, Foner presents so clear a picture of Paine's vision of a society fashioned around the free and autonomous man that it is hard to accept his bottom line assertion about a special bond between Paine and the artisan community. In *Common Sense* Paine attacked with effective ferocity all political hierarchies, social stratifications, and didactic uses of the past. To the extent that he helped undermine the rationale for group solidarity and thereby liberated men from traditional restraints, it seems more appropriate to register his contribution—at least on this side of the Atlantic—to the making of the American middle class.

JOYCE APPLEBY
San Diego State University

RICHARD L. BLANCO. *Physician of the American Revolution: Jonathan Potts*. New York: Garland STPM Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 276. $17.50.

Students of medical history learn early that the familiar events that others use to mark the flow of time have little application to medicine. For example, though significant changes in American life resulted from the Revolution, little alteration in medical thought or practice occurred. Jonathan Potts (1745–81), ostensibly the subject of Richard L. Blanco's new book, was a physician of the Revolution. As the author points out, Potts, despite good intentions, could generally do little beyond quickly and efficiently evacuating casualties to medical facilities, providing these soldiers with beds, food, and skilled nursing care, and attempting to maintain camps in good sanitary condition, free from diseases of filth. Potts succeeded better than most, though financial, logistical, and political problems always interfered with his and others' attempts. No Revolutionary military physician, Potts included, made a lasting contribution to medical knowledge or patient-care techniques.

The book's title notwithstanding, *Physician of the American Revolution* is not a biography of Potts. Blanco admits at the outset that he has uncovered little material on or by Potts and so cannot say much about the man's life. But he does promise "to place Potts into the historical perspective that he merits" (p. xii). That perspective is so broad that Potts virtually disappears from the book for pages at a time. He was in many ways at the center of the Revolutionary American medical scene: friend of Benjamin Rush, student of John Morgan and William Shippen, Jr., (founders of the first American medical school), supervisor of military hospitals at Ft. Ticonderoga, military physician with George Washington at Trenton and Princeton, and regional purveyor of medical stores. But Blanco never brings Potts to life. He devotes more space to Morgan, Shippen, and Rush, and even to military campaigns, than to Jonathan Potts.

Physician of the American Revolution does, in part, satisfy the need for "an . . . account of the difficulties confronting medical personnel during the

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Revolutionary War" (p. xi). But Blanco has chosen the wrong person to epitomize these problems. He also fails to compare the medical problems of the rebels with those of the British troops. Such a comparison would have made the contemporary comments and criticisms of the Americans' medical department which he frequently cites more meaningful. In fact, Blanco rarely steps out of his chronicler's role to evaluate these criticisms, nor does he provide enough information for readers to make their own judgments. Though Blanco's idea of a life-and-times approach to the Revolutionary medical world is a good one, its execution is only partially successful.

TODD SAVITT
University of Florida

HARVEY H. JACKSON. *Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 209. $16.00.

From a young boy of eight crossing the Atlantic with his family to establish the new buffer colony of Georgia to a disillusioned, debt-ridden Revolutionary War veteran of seventy-eight, Lachlan McIntosh was inextricably intertwined with the history of Georgia. As Harvey H. Jackson points out, to examine the life of McIntosh is to study much of the inner workings of colonial and revolutionary Georgia. Proceeding from the premise of "His is a story that needs to be told" (p. x), Jackson sketches the life of McIntosh from his career as a leading planter in Darien to that of a reluctant Whig chosen as a compromise to head the Revolutionary militia of the colony. Eventually rising to the rank of major general in the Continental Line, McIntosh commanded forces not only in Georgia but also in South Carolina and at Fort Pitt.

Jackson, however, focuses more on "the politics of revolutionary Georgia" in order to show "the nature of that internal revolution in which Georgians struggled to determine 'who would rule at home' " (p. 154). Herein lies the strength of the book. While there is little new in the facts presented, Jackson's brief analysis of the gradual ascendancy of the back-country politician to a position of prominence by the end of the war is astute.

Unfortunately, however, the strength of the book is substantially offset by its brevity. In marching through the Georgia pantheon of Gwinnett, Walton, Habersham, Wereat, Houstoun, and others, the author frequently loses sight of his central character. Too often the book becomes the history of the Revolution in the South with occasional references to McIntosh. We read generalizations that refer to McIntosh's temper, wit, and charm, but we seldom see examples of them. Jackson discusses the general's domination of Georgia politics but does not broach the more delicate question of how well he represented the people in his parish. He also fails to discuss McIntosh's attitude and role (if any) in the preliminary events of the Revolution; particularly noteworthy is his failure even to mention the Stamp Act. An excellent skeleton of McIntosh is provided; unfortunately, there is little meat on the bones.

There are other, more minor, problems with the book. Two maps for a book traversing the landscape of southern America are not enough. In a colony in which the loyalists were so prominent, they are only mentioned in passing, and although thousands of Georgia Loyalists fled the colony, there is no mention of the impact such an exodus had on the colony. Finally, that bane of all readers: the press chose to place the notes at the back of the book, a decision that is especially frustrating in heavily documented chapters.

These strictures aside, however, Jackson has provided an excellent and highly readable overview of the life of McIntosh and the political turmoil in which he was involved. Historians of the Revolution will find the book a worthwhile addition to their libraries. One could only wish that Jackson and the press had seen fit to flesh out the skeletal outlines of the subject.

J. BARTON STARR
Troy State University, Dothan

MILTON LOMASK. *Aaron Burr: The Years from Princeton to Vice President, 1756–1805.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux. 1979. Pp. xiii, 443. $17.50.

Amateur historians, unfettered by the stultifying experience of a Ph.D. program and by fears that a negative review in the *AHR* or an imperfect citation or two might jeopardize a promotion or damage a professional reputation, sometimes achieve levels of insight and literary grace that justifiably place their works among best-seller lists and book-club brochures while the scholarly monograph heads inexorably for a cheap afterlife in the remainder shop. Milton Lomask's effort to combine the best of both worlds is not successful. There is little that is new in this traditional biography; although he went back to the primary materials and consulted the immediately relevant secondary literature, Lomask chose a poor topic. Any sensible professional would warn even the most gifted student or colleague that a reappraisal of so infamous a person, unless inspired by the unearthing of new or little-known evidence or by a sustained methodological innovation (psychobiography being one obvious choice), offers scant chance of success. But Lomask had no such inhibitions. His self-assigned task to determine

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"who *was* the real Aaron Burr?" (p. xii)—is ingenuous, as is his apparent belief that the surviving documents somehow will reveal the truth.

His method is one of investigative journalism combined with judicious skepticism and consideration of hypothetical alternatives. Handling of evidence varies with the issue at hand. On specific charges of seduction or adultery, for example, Lomask is cautious and exonerates Burr in ways worthy of a good defense lawyer in a paternity suit. Readers will find only vague references to pedestrian sexual libertinism, nothing bizarre, kinky, or otherwise worthy of interest. *Che peccato* for Aaron. On other issues, such as whether Burr sought to usurp Jefferson's place in 1800, the author sifts through the evidence carefully and sensibly but, intent on showing that Burr was neither so cunning nor so astute as some historians have said, falls back on comparisons between what the man did and what he might have done. Had Burr truly lusted after the presidency in 1800 and had he been as adroit as many have thought, he would have gone to Washington to be on hand for the House balloting rather than languishing in Albany as he did. Such ahistorical deduction from counterfactuals is always as valid as it is invalid. In this case, the result of such analysis is a rather flat portrait of a politician who was consummately successful except when he failed and a husband who was faithful except when he was not. And through it all, in a literary device unfortunately more akin to the sleuthing of Colombo than to the tragedy of Cain, the guns of Weehawken are heard in the distance. I doubt that there ever was a "real" Aaron Burr, but even if there was, there is not one now. Nathan Schachner's 1937 volume remains the best standard biography, although it probably contains less truth, whatever that may be, than Gore Vidal's guesses and inventions.

The author's unusual method of documentation by means of unnumbered endnotes is both condescending and annoying; it deserves never to be imitated.

RUDOLPH M. BELL
Rutgers University

TONY ALLAN FREYER. *Forums of Order: The Federal Courts and Business in American History.* (Industrial Development and the Social Fabric, number 1.) Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press. 1979. Pp. xxii, 187. $21.00.

In this lucid and perceptive monograph Tony Allan Freyer analyzes the role of federal courts in fostering interstate business activity from the early Republic to the New Deal. As domestic and foreign trade increased after 1815, merchants clamored for a uniform commercial law that would reduce the uncertainties and risks inherent in long-distance credit transactions. Because of the uneven reception of common-law doctrines in the states, the rules governing the negotiability of bills and notes varied from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Legislatures added to the burdens of interstate trade by their frequent resort to stay laws or other forms of debtor relief that discriminated against nonresident creditors. Only the federal courts, with their national outlook and independence of state politics, seemed capable of creating a body of generally applicable commercial principles, but their power to do so long remained uncertain.

The major obstacle to such judicial activism lay in section 34 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which required federal judges to follow state law in all cases where it applied. This provision reflected both the political concerns of states' rights advocates and a more diffuse fear of unbridled judicial power. To many Americans the idea of a federal common law suggested images of black-robed tyrants issuing edicts at will against a defenseless citizenry. Yet public opinion also acknowledged a need for uniform legal rules to guide interstate businessmen. Under John Marshall, the Supreme Court moved warily in commercial cases, upholding customary business practices on narrow procedural gounds without directly confronting section 34 and the issue of state power. It remained for a successor court—dominated by Jacksonian Democrats and states' rights jurists—to decide unanimously in *Swift* v. *Tyson* (1842) that, despite section 34, federal judges might fashion their own principles of commercial jurisprudence for use in interstate litigation.

Freyer devotes almost one-third of his book to the *Swift* case, the subject of his doctoral dissertation, and argues persuasively that economic considerations determined the outcome. The nation was experiencing a severe depression in the aftermath of the Panic of 1837, and the judges were acutely conscious that a federal commercial law was needed to spur recovery. Whatever their backgrounds or political affiliations, the members of the Taney Court favored economic development and perceived themselves as obligated by their position in the federal system to protect interstate business interests in diversity cases. With their power to override state commercial law firmly established in *Swift*, federal judges constructed a pro-business jurisprudence in the late nineteenth century that seriously impaired state efforts to control corporate abuses. The spread of federal regulation after 1900 gradually eroded the bases of this laissez-faire jurisprudence, however, and in *Erie Railroad Co.* v. *Tompkins* (1938) the Supreme Court overruled *Swift* and abandoned its interventionist role in economic matters.

Did the elaboration of general commercial principles by the federal judiciary really bring about

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uniformity within the legal system? On that point Freyer provides little evidence but promises a companion volume that will emphasize the legal consequences of *Swift*. Although he fails to assess the social cost of judicial policy-making for workers, consumers, and other nonbusiness groups, his work remains a model study that contributes significantly to both economic and legal history.

MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD
Catholic University of America

JOAN NILES SEARS. *The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia*. Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing. 1979. Pp. xiii, 220. $15.00.

This chronicle of Georgia's first century of town planning contains a great deal of value for the local historian and the specialized student of town form. The author thoroughly surveys the surviving town plans, many of which are clearly reproduced in over seventy plates, and presents these plans in a chronological narrative of three periods: the colonial era, 1735–1776; the headright period, 1777–1802; and the lottery and cession period, 1802–1835. The book's chief strength is as a compendium of Georgia town planning rather than an interpretive work. Slight attention is given comparative studies, town typology is derived locally rather than generically, and geographic variations in town form are scarcely discussed. Had the volume dealt with these matters, it might have become an outstanding monograph. As it stands, the book offers a useful compilation of Georgia town planning that other scholars may use toward greater ends.

CARVILLE V. EARLE
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

JOHN RANDOLPH WILLIS. *God's Frontiersmen: The Yale Band in Illinois*. Washington: University Press of America. 1979. Pp. 245. $9.25.

God's Frontiersmen is a case study in religious history that documents the effects of native New England Yale Congregational missionary activity on the Illinois frontier (particularly at Illinois College) from 1829 to 1861. The Yale Band, a group of fifteen Congregational missionaries under the supervision of the American Home Missionary Society (p. 26), is the focal point of the study. The Band was an outgrowth of the Yale Society for Christian Research (1825), itself a by-product of the Second Great Awakening at Yale. These fifteen ear witnesses of Nathaniel William Taylor embodied the reforming and moralizing tendency of early nineteenth-century American social life in attempting to link religion with education (p. 25)—a favorite tactic of nineteenth-century missionaries (pp.157, 162).

John Randolph Willis's research relies largely on manuscript material, especially letters from the Yale Band to the American Home Missionary Society and their return replies, which gives a good first hand look at life on the antebellum frontier in Illinois. The impact of the Yale diaspora on the Northwest Territory becomes evident through extensive quotations from unpublished letters, diaries, and autobiographies.

Of seven chapters, one is given to the Plan of Union of 1801 and its relation to Illinois Congregational and Presbyterian churches and one chapter to the Band and the antislavery cause in Illinois, which details how an almost totally northern Congregational Church pressed the issue of abolition in Illinois (p. 212). Besides these two chapters, the monograph is essentially a detailed account of the progress of Illinois Congregationalism.

The secondary bibliography is dated (Gilbert Barnes is the only secondary text in the discussion of slavery; p. 215f.), the most current work being from 1945. These flaws aside, Willis's research is well written, and well documented, and obviously the result of a great deal of archival work. The book will be of interest to historians of religion on the American frontier, Illinois historians, Congregational historians, historians of American missionary effort, and historians of education.

CAREY J. GIFFORD
Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tennessee

MARIE LUISE FRINGS. *Henry Clays* American System *und die sektionale Kontroverse in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1815–1829*. (Europäische Hochschulschriften, number 117.) Frankfurt: Peter Lang. 1979. Pp. xi, 466.

Historians of the United States middle period agree that the monolithic nationalism and sectional unity of the immediate post-1815 era quickly degenerated into a fragmented, ominous sectional antagonism by 1830. While the United States enjoyed a period of unparalleled unanimity of feeling and national harmony in the aftermath of the War of 1812, dark clouds of sectional strife began to appear only a generation later. Whether the nationalist/consolidationist economic policies of Henry Clay retarded or promoted the eventual rise of this dangerous and eventually fatal sectionalism, historians are unable to agree. There is, however, no doubt that the several components of the "American System" and their influences on the course of United States history cannot be minimized.

Marie Luise Frings traces the evolution of U.S.

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history during the 1815–29 era and attempts to illustrate the singular impact of the American System on these crucial years. Fring's major theme is that while party differences were temporarily muted after 1815, the 1820s were rife with personal, economic, and particularly sectional differences, largely the result of the philosophy and policies of Henry Clay. According to Frings, the sectional rift was opened by internal improvements and U. S. Bank schemes; the protective tariffs of the 1820s made the development of sectional collision inevitable.

While Frings' story, theme, and thesis are only too familiar, the book is nevertheless quite valuable. Of particular importance are the voting records of all the individual congressmen who served in the 1815–29 era; Frings includes an excellent breakdown and statistical analysis of each congressman's vote and the intensity of each man's feelings on the various and separate components of the American System from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Congresses. These data and their judicious and creative analysis constitute the major contribution and importance of *Henry Clays* American System *und die sektionale Kontroverse.*

A possible weak point is Fring's brief and somewhat cursory treatment of the "implied powers" doctrine, which, of course, formed the philosophical and constitutional basis of Clay's program. Also, the study might have included a more detailed, deeper analysis of the great tariff controversies that arose in the mid- to late-1820s; as this matter is of essential importance in understanding the eventual sectional struggle, a clear, strong discussion of the tariff problem would definitely strengthen Frings's argument.

Apart from these minor criticisms, this reviewer can only offer praise for Frings's efforts. Well researched, and written mainly from primary sources, the book is perceptive, persuasive, and closely focused. For students with a knowledge of German or in translation, this work will be an excellent choice for upper-level and graduate courses in the American middle period.

WILLIAM J. TEAGUE
Texas College

PAUL A. VARG. *United States Foreign Relations, 1820–1860.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 315. $15.00.

Paul A. Varg is a prolific diplomatic historian, author of numerous valuable monographs on aspects of Sino-American relations and of *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers* (1964), a stimulating interpretive study organized around a theme of tension between idealism and realism in foreign policy. His most recent volume, *United States Foreign Relations, 1820–1860,* is, in effect, a continuation or extension of the 1964 volume, although there is a chronological lacuna between them, which means that in neither does Varg present his views of the negotiations at Ghent, the Anglo-American convention of 1818, and the acquisition of Florida.

After two introductory chapters that establish the diplomatic and international setting within which diplomacy functioned, the author presents brisk accounts, organized both geographically and chronologically, of the major problems faced by Washington during the forty years before the Civil War. Predictably, the years after 1840 occupy the greater part of the volume—about two thirds of the whole. The result is a clear, dispassionate and essentially complete review, more intensive than textbook treatments of the period but, like them, most useful as an introduction for the beginning student or general reader.

Varg has examined some primary sources, particularly published documents. Inevitably, however, given the volume's scope, he has relied heavily on other scholars' writings. While the bibliography is extensive, there are some surprising omissions, including the second volume of Samuel Flagg Bemis's biography of John Quincy Adams, F. Lee Benns's monograph on the West Indian trade, Wilbur Devereux Jones's volumes on Anglo-American relations, and a number of others.

In a survey of this sort, this amount of space devoted to specific subjects is necessarily a matter of the author's personal judgment. Still, one wonders if Albert Gallatin's negotiations at London in 1826–27 or the claims controversy with France during Jackson's administration deserve, as they get here, more attention than the complex of events surrounding the Monroe Doctrine. Few who have felt compelled to discuss Anglo-American rivalries in Central America in the 1850s have been able to confine this turgid subject within the limits of most readers' interest, and the same is here again true. An even greater emphasis on Oregon, the Mexican War, and Far Eastern developments might have been more useful.

One of the strengths of Varg's *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers* is that, while avoiding tendentiousness, it is held together by a central idea. The current volume, unfortunately, is lacking in that regard; in the author's words, he has "no overarching theory" (p. xv). He tends to emphasize commercial considerations, he sometimes makes an "effort to place the diplomacy of these years in a world context" (p. xiv), and he frequently deplores the baneful effects of domestic political influences, both partisan and personal. Regarding episodes and individuals, Varg is prepared to make judgments, almost always temperate; beyond the level he does not go.

BRADFORD PERKINS
University of Michigan

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RICHARD B. LATNER. *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House Politics, 1829–1837.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979. Pp. 291. $20.00.

President Andrew Jackson's critics created the legend of the "Kitchen Cabinet," that famous backstairs cabal of cronies who influenced his decisions, wrote his messages, and dispensed patronage. Jackson's defenders insisted that the president's advisory system was the natural outgrowth of his military background: when a general, he rarely held military councils, and, when president, he rarely held cabinet meetings. A formal cabinet decision limited him; he preferred to consult whom he wished, informally and without responsibility.

In a study of White House politics from 1829 to 1837, Richard B. Latner examines Jackson's relationships with his advisers and, noting the difficulty of identifying the Kitchen Cabinet's membership and manner of functioning, suspects that it "was largely a figment of the opposition's imagination" (p. 52). Nevertheless, he suggests that "it most resembles the modern White House staff, a group of aides personally attached to the president and having his special trust" (p. 52).

Jackson remained at the center of a flexible decision-making process, seeking counsel from a large number of advisers both within and without the government but keeping responsibility in his own hands. After his first two years in office, he consulted regularly with his cabinet on matters of policy and patronage, but the more important the issue the more he used the cabinet only as a means of gaining political support for a predetermined policy. He gave special consideration to the advice of two Kentucky members of the Kitchen Cabinet—Amos Kendall, an auditor in the Treasury, and Francis Preston Blair, the editor of the administration newspaper, the Washington *Globe*—whose political views and temperaments closely matched his own. They shared Jackson's suspicion of paper money and his hostility to the Bank of the United States. The more cautious Martin Van Buren, although he exerted considerable influence and gained the president's trust and affection, "generally remained somewhat in the shadows of the president's western advisers" (p. 54).

The coolness with which Van Buren and his southern allies, including the Richmond Junto, greeted certain major administration policy decisions attested to the primacy of the Jackson-Kendall-Blair axis. The Bank War, removal of the government's deposits, nullification, the cautious probing of an alliance with Daniel Webster in a new Union party, Blair's independence of Van Buren in managing the *Globe*, and the selection of Kentuckian Richard M. Johnson as the New Yorker's running mate in 1836 were among the actions that provoked criticism from Van Buren men.

In *The Age of Jackson* (1945), Arthur Schlesinger, jr., made the conflict of classes the principal motivating force of the Jacksonian movement, which he defined as "a second American phase of the enduring struggle between the business community and the rest of society." Thus the East rather than the West furnished the principal stage, the urban workers rather than the farmers the leading actors. "The basic Jacksonian ideas came naturally enough from the East, which best understood the nature of business power and reacted most sharply against it." Latner, harking back to the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, ably argues that "since it was Jackson's banking and currency battles that most vividly imprinted on the Democratic party its distinctive values and beliefs, the West must therefore be credited with having made a special contribution to Jacksonianism" (p. 107). Based on an impressive array of manuscripts, newspapers, and secondary sources, his study is one with which historians of Jacksonian Democracy will have to reckon, revealing as it does the power relationships among the party's ruling elite.

NORMAN D. BROWN
The University of Texas, Austin

BENNY KRAUT. *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler.* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, number 5.) Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 285. $16.50.

Felix Adler (1851–1933), the Jewish-born religious reformer, social critic, and philosopher is best remembered as the founder of the Ethical Culture Movement. In the late nineteenth century, Adler, influenced by the modern trends of religious liberalism and the scientific spirit of critical inquiry, was unable to continue his devotion to Reform Judaism. In the 1870s he offered a unique, broad religious philosophy that he considered more meaningful and compatible with the mood of the times. By the end of that decade, he abandoned the Jewish socio-religious consensus and created his own universal socio-religious association—the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

Although other aspects of Adler's impact on American society have been evaluated by historians, little of his life as a Jew or his emergence out of Judaism have ever been treated with serious thought. Most historians of the American Jewish experience paid him nothing more than fleeting attention in their studies. Indeed, except for one lonely article by Rabbi Levi Olan, no student of Reform Judaism ever attempted any critical study of Adler's changing religious life.

Benny Kraut, Professor of Judaic Studies at the

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University of Cincinnati, has finally filled this void. In *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture*, a study based on previously uninvestigated archival sources, Kraut perceptively and carefully delineates the history of Adler's religio-philosophic impact on the New York Jewish community, and, to some extent, on the American Jewish community at large. In a scholarly, penetrating, and highly readable book, Kraut reveals the precipitating factors of Adler's religious departure from Reform Judaism. He also exposes the controversies that this split from Judaism engendered within American Jewry and the significant impact that it had on American Jewish religious life.

Historians and lay people interested in American Jewish communal history, in the development of modern Reform Judaism, and in the phenomenon of Jewish identity will welcome and applaud Kraut's study. Students of general nineteenth-century American religion will also benefit from the striking parallels between Adler's experiences and those of religious reformers in other faiths.

STANLEY FELDSTEIN
New School for Social Research

VIVIANA A. ROTMAN ZELIZER. *Morals and Markets: The Development of Life Insurance in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 208. $15.00.

"What," Viviana A. Rotman Zelizer asks, "explains the strong and prolonged resistance of Americans to buying life insurance and what accounts for its unusually rapid success in the 1840's?" (p. 2). Not, she hastens to add, the factors that economic and business historians, particularly the authors of corporate histories of life insurance companies, have traditionally cited. For example, the agency system, that most notable feature of the nineteenth-century insurance industry, followed rather than preceded the critical changes of the 1840s and after. The essential element, Zelizer argues, was a fundamental transformation in American institutions, ideas, and values, the phenomenon that others have called "modernization." By focusing on an industry that closely reflected that transformation, she is able to illuminate phases of the history of life insurance as well as the evolution of American society.

Relying largely on industry sources, Zelizer addresses two key developments: the rapid growth of the life insurance companies between 1840 and 1860 and the particular mode of operation of the successful companies in the late nineteenth century. In a fascinating chapter she examines the rise of marine, fire, and life insurance companies in the United States and the relative success or failure of life insurance enterprises in the United States and Western Europe. Zelizer then relates the changing conception of death and the "management of death" to growing public receptivity to life insurance. She emphasizes the roles of theology and religious leaders in debates over the morality and utility of life insurance. Unfortunately she relies on terms like "conservative" and "liberal" to characterize the combatants, making it impossible to determine whether the liturgical-evangelical distinctions that influenced American politics were also apparent in public perceptions of life insurance. By the last third of the nineteenth century secular, urban, and "progressive" values had triumphed, and the companies were well established. Risk became a hazard to be managed, property a form of immortality. Gambling and speculation also became more acceptable. And while insurance agents remained a suspect group, more and more Americans succumbed to their blandishments to save via whole life policies. In a final chapter, the only one devoted to the industry per se, Zelizer examines the sorry lot of the insurance salesman. Portrayed in promotional literature as a counselor to the living and a source of succor to the bereaved, the agent in fact rose or fell on his ability to generate premiums. It was small wonder that the "modern" industry Zelizer describes came high on the list of institutions that modernizing progressives attacked after 1900.

Morals and Markets has much to commend it, but only to historians conversant with recent work in economic and social history. Despite her broad approach Zelizer, a sociologist, fails to place her subject in the larger context of nineteenth-century organizational developments. Writers of company histories make convenient straw men, but their works are only one part of the secondary literature apropos to this topic. Even the initiated, however, will bemoan the brevity of Zelizer's strong chapters, notably her comparative treatment of the insurance industries, her analysis of nineteenth-century attitudes toward death, and her occupational biography of the insurance agent. Zelizer's study is suggestive rather than definitive. She has asked the right questions; one hopes other scholars will provide fuller and more satisfying answers.

DANIEL NELSON
University of Akron

HOMER E. SOCOLOFSKY. *Landlord William Scully*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas. 1979. Pp. xiii, 182. $15.00.

In the Turnerian tradition, frontier landlords are pariahs of the prairies. They retarded settlement and economic development, caused soil depletion, shirked taxes, and ultimately created an "undemocratic" system of land ownership. Homer E. Soco-

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lofsky refutes all such charges in this revisionist biography of Irishman William Scully (1821–1906), who built the largest American tenancy operation in the nineteenth century (351 square miles in four states—Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri). This book is the capstone of Socolofsky's thirty-year quest into the career of the elusive and secretive Scully and his tenancy system, which continues to the present in the hands of third-generation Scullys. The search led the author into archives and newspaper sources on both sides of the Atlantic, private business records, and interviews with agents, tenants, and Scully heirs.

Some may question whether a curmudgeon as disreputable as Scully deserves such dogged devotion and empathy. But Socolofsky's efforts, which he deemed "enjoyable" (p. xii), seem justified on other grounds. Not only was Scully a complex person with a remarkably eventful life, including a nearly successful assassination attempt by irate Irish tenants and a vitriolic attack by the American press (Scully's "scalpers"), but he owned and brought into productive usage several times more farmland (225,000 acres), controlled more tenants (1500 in 1900), and bequeathed to heirs a larger landed estate than any other frontier magnate. Not without cause did Scully aspire to be known as the "first farmer in the United States" (p. 101).

As the lowly fifth son of a lesser landed gentryman, Scully's future was hardly assured. But he succeeded by a combination of pluck, fateful deaths of brothers, judicious marriage, long life, and shrewd intelligence. With inherited money, his wife's dowry, and funds borrowed from family, Scully, in 1850, began entering large blocks of low-lying Illinois prairie lands with Mexican War military bounty warrants. He realized that these lands, passed over by early settlers, were potentially fertile if drained and tiled. Except for lengthy biannual visits to confer with trusted local agents and to buy more land, Scully remained in Europe. Buoyed by rising land values and a successful tenancy system of cash rents, annual leases, mandatory soil conservation practices, no improvement monies for tenant homes and barns, and frequent law suits against tenants, he eventually became a multimillionaire, enjoying an annual income by 1900 above $200,000 from his American lands alone.

As a biography the book is definitive, but not as an account of the Scully tenancy system since Socolofsky specifically eschews comparisons with leasing practices of other frontier landlords. Nor does he analyze the tenant lists to determine who contracted with "Lord Scully," their longevity, and success in climbing the agricultural ladder (p. xii). Impressionistically, Socolofsky suggests that Scully's leases were unique, that he preferred German farmers, and that his lessees enjoyed considerable economic success. If this account prompts scholars to test these tentative conclusions, Socolofsky's efforts will be amply rewarded.

ROBERT P. SWIERENGA
Kent State University

ROBERT P. SMITH. *Brooklyn at Play: The Illusion and the Reality, 1890–1898.* New York: Revisionist Press. 1977. Pp. vii, 282. $44.95.

Brooklyn at Play is at best a modest contribution to the growing field of the history of sports and leisure in America. Obviously an offprint of Robert P. Smith's Indiana University dissertation, the work hammers consistently on one basic theme: the image of Brooklyn's recreational life in the 1890s, as portrayed by local newspapers, is a distorted one. While reporters concentrated on the "romantic and gay" pastimes of the rich, the more mundane and often brutalized lives of middle-class and poor Brooklynites were ignored. As Smith puts it in his introductory chapter, "Coney Island may have been gay, but not for those too poor to afford it" (p. 30).

Smith's dogged pursual of this theme takes him through the theater, social clubs, sporting events, and what he calls "The Art of Urban Social Mingling" (p. 44). The rich do lots of fun things and get written up in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*; the rest of the people work hard, go on walks, visit, occasionally join clubs, and are largely forgotten.

Brooklyn at Play would have made a perfectly respectable thirty-page article. As published, however, it becomes a meandering and repetitious catalog of groups and their diversions. Moreover, Smith's analysis of class differences is woefully inadequate. He asserts that "in a statistical analysis of the period one could classify 70 percent of Brooklyn's residents as middle-class, 25 percent lower class, and the remaining 5 percent upper class" (p. 22). He then informs us in a note that these "figures were arrived at through a careful examination of census statistics and other statistical evidences found in the Brooklyn *Citizen* and *Eagle Almanacs* of the period, 1890–1898" (p. 40). What sort of "careful examination" did he make? Given the central thesis on class and leisure, he clearly needs a more rigorous explanation of his method.

Smith is to be congratulated for choosing a timely and interesting subject. Unfortunately, the results do not live up to the initial promise.

ANTHONY O. EDMONDS
Ball State University

MARGARET GIBBONS WILSON. *The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870–1920.* (Contribu-

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tions in Women's Studies, number 6.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1979. Pp. xvi, 252. $19.95.

This book reads like a dissertation that started off as a good idea but failed in the execution somewhere along the way. Wilson reasons that the urbanization and industrialization of the country between 1870 and 1920 must account "for the permanent enlarging of the accepted sphere of activity for women and the changes in the image of feminine propriety." Consequently, she tries to test the differences "between the life patterns exhibited in urban and rural areas" during these years. She confines her study primarily to the middle class but asserts that the middle class reflects "the dominant mores of the nation."

The book consists of some interesting, but far from original, essays based on the secondary literature and on contemporary periodicals on the home, women's organizations, employment, marriage and fertility, and other subjects. There are also a series of statistical studies based primarily on census data. The two parts of the book do not fit together very well and the conclusions are far from startling. The proportion of married women always tended to be greater in the rural areas. "Although intercity variations in female fertility and marital patterns were evident, a movement toward earlier marriages coupled with a decrease in fertility appeared generally to be associated with urban areas during the late 1800's and 1900's." An increasing number of women worked toward the end of the period but most of those who worked were single, although after 1900 there was a slight increase in the percentage of employed women who were married. There was some variation among cities, and in those cities that had large manufacturing concerns more single women were present and a higher percentage of women were found among the workforce. "The more men there were the higher percentage of married women and the lower the percentage of employed women."

There are many difficulties with this study. The way it was set up one could almost predict the findings. Because it attempts to study the entire nation, it cannot measure the specific changes that were occurring in women's lives or the variations that might be explained in terms of ethnicity and class or that made Philadelphia different from Buffalo or Chicago different from Gary. By setting up a dichotomy between urban and rural she ignores (largely because of the census data) the changes that were going on in small towns and small cities. Her sources also eliminate the discussion of real women and their problems. Instead of studies such as this that try to study the entire nation we need more detailed studies of individual cities where all classes and groups could be analyzed. We need more studies of individual women and groups of women. This study may have provided useful research experience for the author, but its conclusions do not advance our knowledge of the changing life styles of women in an industrializing America.

ALLEN F. DAVIS
Temple University

LESLIE WOODCOCK TENTLER. *Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900–1930.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. 266. $14.95.

In the years 1900 to 1930, as they entered the paid workforce in increasing numbers, "daughters of immigrant families learned at work a thoroughly 'American' version of feminine adolescence" (p. 2), argues Leslie Woodcock Tentler in her impressive study, *Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900–1930.* "Employment," she continues, was "an important and conservative aspect of working-class female socialization" (p. 7).

Focusing on the half-dozen years between the completion of education and entry into marriage, Tentler examines the employment experiences of young working-class women in major industrially mature cities of the East and Midwest. She finds them sex-segregated in low-skilled, low-wage occupations that gave them little opportunity for economic independence and reinforced social messages of the subordination and lack of power of adult females. Many found some satisfaction among their co-workers who shared romantic dreams of an unrealistic future. But, ultimately, "the work community . . . failed to support a vision of adulthood where women could achieve individuality and autonomy in non-familial roles" (p. 181).

It seems doubtful that Tentler actually finds it necessary to do battle with William E. Leuchtenburg's 1954 statement that increased female employment by 1930 contributed to women's emancipation, since that issue has already been addressed so effectively in William Chafe's 1972 study, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920–1970,* an investigation initiated under Leuchtenburg's direction. Nevertheless, Tentler's compilation of material on the working class in the 1900–30 period reinforces Chafe's argument that American society has accepted only those changes for women that do not challenge the economic and sexual status quo.

In this regard, Tentler seems almost excessively concerned that feminists may misunderstand her portrayal of employed adolescent working-class women as passive co-operators in their own continuing subordination. She correctly argues that the

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subjects of her study were not "the same social creatures that men were" (p. 7). But neither were they the same social or economic or political creatures as the middle- and upper-class feminists of their own, or even a more recent, day. And therein lies one of the few weaknesses of an otherwise commendable work. Working-class women have had their own sets of attitudes throughout American history, attitudes rarely recorded and often influenced by middle-class concepts of "true womanhood." If today's feminists are to avoid the ideological pitfalls of their predecessors, like the Women's Trade Union League, they will recognize Leslie Woodcock Tentler's volume as a celebration of women she has obviously come to admire and love. The fact that her standards of research, analysis, and scholarship remain so high in the face of that affection makes her contribution doubly valuable both to scholars and to students.

SUSAN ESTABROOK KENNEDY
Virginia Commonwealth University

ELLEN CONDLIFFE LAGEMANN. *A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 207. $12.50.

Ellen Condliffe Lagemann has written an extraordinarily interesting book. She begins with a sweeping definition "that education is a process of interaction by which individual potential . . . is activated, shaped or channelled and a change . . . thereby produced in the self" (p. 7) and that education thus defined includes much more than formal schooling. Starting from this base, she has chosen five women reformers, all of whom were active during the Progressive Era, and has written an "educational" biography of each one. At the end of the book, in a thoughtful summary chapter, she discusses what was common to the education (as she defines it) of these five women and concludes that all of them learned from their families, one or more mentors, co-workers and by teaching themselves. Formal schooling per se was not an important influence in their lives, indeed two of them had almost none.

Although each of the portraits is fascinating, her deliberately broad definition of education raises some questions. She establishes the "gulf of solitude" (p. 13) between Grace Dodge and her younger siblings and the competition between Maude Nathan and her brothers and sister, but what makes these relationships more educative than those experienced by every human being who was not an only child? Similarly, she tells us that either by their presence or their absence, the parents of these two women exercised a strong influence on their daughters, but whose parents do not?

It is when she comes to Lillian Wald, Leonora O'Reilly, and Rose Schneiderman that we begin to see how well her definition can work. As with Dodge and Nathan, Wald's family life shaped her life and interests, but the education that made it possible for her to become a successful reformer were her special experiences on New York's Lower East Side and the men and women, particularly Josephine Shaw Lowell, with whom she worked. Labor leader Leonora O'Reilly was actually trained by her garment-worker mother, so in her case the special educative role of a parent is clear. Rose Schneiderman, left fatherless and very poor early in her life, received the education that enabled her to become an important figure in the labor movement of her time mostly from her co-workers in the Women's Trade Union League.

Because her ideas are provocative, because she writes with clarity and grace, and because, as she demonstrates in her useful "Notes on Methods and Sources," she has done a lot of careful homework, Lagemann's book is well worth reading. Although she has not been equally convincing in every one of her cases, she *has* enlarged our knowledge of the social concerns of the Progressive Era and of the women who played such important roles in it.

SELMA C. BERROL
Baruch College,
City University of New York

RONALD D. COHEN and RAYMOND A. MOHL. *The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling.* (National University Publications Interdisciplinary Urban Series.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1979. Pp. viii, 216. $15.00.

The purpose of this book is "to analyze the contradictions, tensions, and ambiguities of progressive education by examining the most famous and widely imitated progressive school program—the Gary plan or platoon school" (p. 5). It is a long overdue book. The Gary schools were the center of national attention between 1910 and 1920, hailed as a model of progressive education by John Dewey, Randolph Bourne, and the more radical Floyd Dell, and supported by Judge Elbert Gary of the U.S. Steel Corporation and other leading businessmen. Despite criticism and an abortive attempt to impose the platoon system on New York City's schools, the Gary plan flourished; by 1930, more than two hundred cities had adopted some form of it.

The Gary plan itself divided individual schools into platoons for more efficient plant use, greatly expanded the curriculum beyond traditional academic subjects, made Saturday and summer school part of its regular program, and extended educa-

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tional and recreational services to adults. Most of all, it captured what Ronald D. Cohen and Raymond A. Mohl call the "paradox of progressive education": the contradictory tendencies toward efficiency, economy, scientific management, class bias, and racism on the one hand, and on the other, the determination to make schools more natural, child-centered, community-based, and democratic. The authors explore that paradox in splendid detail. Along the way, they reveal that the two most prominent spokespersons for the Gary plan—Superintendent of Schools William A. Wirt and Alice Barrows—were on opposite sides of the political spectrum and supported the plan for very different reasons. In their analysis of the plan in New York, they show just how educational politics became wrapped up in other political issues. They note how complex the Americanization of immigrants was, a process that incorporated WASP imposition of cultural uniformity, immigrant aspirations, different ethnic attitudes towards schooling and work, the necessities of survival, and the relationship between nationality and religion. In their discussion of blacks, they make clear that segregation was public policy before the migration of large numbers of blacks to Gary. They also suggest that the full flowering of progressive education occurred in the 1920s and that progressivism ended in the 1930s when economic conflict forced the inherent contradictions of progressivism into the open.

But always Cohen and Mohl return to their original question: how did progressive education manage to accommodate the goals of bureaucratic efficiency and the acceptance of class and racial inequality with the drive to child-centeredness, community, and democracy? They do not answer that question as satisfactorily as we might have hoped, in part because the former dominated so much more than the latter and partially because the wealth of archival sources they depend upon has led them to treat the Gary schools too much in isolation from what else was happening in Gary. For posing the question and describing the ingredients of an answer, however, the authors deserve a great deal of credit.

MARVIN LAZERSON
University of British Columbia

JACQUELYN DOWD HALL. *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1979. Pp. xiv, 373. $14.95.

Recent contributions in the history of southern women have clarified the critical importance of the intersection of race, sex, and class in southern culture. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall advances this analysis in her study of the origins of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. In a single book she manages a sensitive examination of middle-class white women's involvement in interracial work, an account of black women's reform activities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a cultural analysis of lynching, and a biography of Jessie Daniel Ames who founded and led the ASWPL. Such a combination might have read like an interesting patchwork, but Hall manages a coherent and graceful narrative that weaves the various strands together in one piece.

The Women's Committee of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, predecessor of the ASWPL, developed from two sources. The Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Church had pioneered in interracial work, campaigned for laity rights, and clothed its latent feminism in the language of evangelical Protestantism. By 1920 its leaders, frustrated by the limitations of an institution that circumscribed women's autonomous activities, were seeking new alliances. They found such allies among a generation of middle-class black women, daughters of slaves, whose losing battle for equality within the YWCA had taught them that they, too, needed an organization within which they could be equal from the start. These two groups came together in a series of explosive meetings, unified by class, gender, and the language of evangelicalism but torn by the fundamentally different experiences of black and white women that left them almost unable to speak to one another. Throughout her narrative, which is primarily focused on white women, Hall is careful to document the autonomous activities of black women and the critical nature of their interactions with whites. Few white women, even the most liberal, would have seriously challenged the racial caste system had they not been constantly prodded by black women.

Jessie Daniel Ames led the CIC Women's Committee in Texas and developed there the analysis and strategies with which she would build the ASWPL. Her biography offers a rich case study of a southern woman whose family tragedies and fierce independence played themselves out against the background of sexual discrimination and racial antagonism. An abrasive, autocratic, yet brilliant leader, Ames led the ASWPL "to bring the region into line with national norms of law observance and social order [and] to modify the definition of womanhood in Southern society" (p. 193).

In a chapter on "the ritual of lynching" Hall explores the socioeconomic underpinnings of lynching as a method of social control. In a sense this chapter, which could stand on its own, ties the book together, for lynching "served as a dramatization of hierarchical power relationships based both on gen-

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der and on race, . . . a 'story' white southerners told themselves about the social arrangements and psychological strivings that lay beneath the surface of everyday life" (pp. 156, 149). Ames's brilliant strategy of explicitly denouncing the use of "white womanhood" as a mask for economic and racist motives for lynching drove right to the heart of cultural myth. And the ASWPL, led by middle-class, urban women but embracing more than 43,000 women in rural missionary societies, opened an insurgent dimension in the lives of women severely circumscribed by domesticity and caste. Such a strategy also clarified the very different motives behind white and black women's opposition to lynching, and the fact that white women, acting within a white association, could not finally overcome the boundaries of race and class.

In this fine and exhaustively researched work, which won the Bancroft Award as a dissertation at Columbia, Hall has made a major contribution to the history of women and has opened avenues for future scholars.

SARA M. EVANS
University of Minnesota

JOAN K. SMITH. *Ella Flagg Young: Portrait of a Leader.* Ames: Educational Studies Press and the Iowa State University Research Foundation. 1979. Pp. xvi, 272. $12.95.

"She has more general intelligence and character than any other woman I knew" (p. 231). The *Chicago Tribune* thus quoted Jane Addams following the death in 1918 of Ella Flagg Young. Addams, Young, and philanthropist Anita McCormick Blaine were Chicago's women of influence during three decades of boisterous growth and brutal politics in that singular city. They often collaborated, especially on school matters.

Ella Flagg was born in Buffalo in 1845 to an enterprising metal worker and his Scottish wife. The Flaggs moved to Chicago in 1858 where, without family enthusiasm for schooling, she dropped out of grammar school at fourteen. After completing the two-year Normal Course at the Chicago High School, Flagg began a half-century career in Chicago's school system: as teacher, principal, assistant (district) superintendent, normal school principal, and—from 1909 to 1915—Superintendent of Schools. The first woman to head the schools of a major city, Young was the first woman elected president of the National Education Association. Her experiences in these roles give lie to the proposition that education used to be apolitical.

Young's association with Chicago's schools was interrupted from 1899 to 1904 when, at age 54, she began work towards a Ph.D. at the infant University of Chicago—this without college courses beyond participation in philosophy seminars run by then-obscure John Dewey. Of his relations with Young, Dewey said, "I would come to her with these abstract ideas of mine and she would tell me what they meant" (p. 64). After one year Young had her doctorate, a faculty appointment, and President Harper's confidence that her popularity with Chicago's teachers—she knew each of the city's six thousand teachers by name—would bring tuition riches to his university. Joan K. Smith's dissection of the maneuverings at the university that led to Dewey's departure in 1904 flatters neither Dewey nor Harper.

This is conventional biography—innocent of revisionist or psychobiographical cant. It is awkwardly written, however, in slangy style with bothersome grammar. It adds little biographical detail to John T. McManis's 1916 study of Young. Important personal information is lacking. We learn little more of her five-year marriage to William Young—an ailing, older family friend who soon went West, alone, and died there. The subject is intriguing because spinsterhood, widowhood, and disastrous marriages have been found disproportionately often among exceptional women.

Nonetheless this biography contributes to the historiography of education in the Progressive Era. Smith makes rich use of the papers of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, other archives, and obscure works. Young emerges in heroic proportion, but her critics are heard from. She was severe, dominating, shrewd, stubborn, jealous of her power—traits not prized as feminine virtues in late Victorian America, but appropriate to a leader.

GERALDINE JONCICH CLIFFORD
University of California, Berkeley

E. RICHARD BROWN. *Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine and Capitalism in America.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 283. $12.95.

Readers frustrated by the complexity and uncertainty of history will welcome *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, a fast-paced, selective reconstruction of the past, which reveals the underlying forces and motives behind the medical reforms of the period 1890 to 1925. Written by a Marxist professor in the UCLA School of Public Health, this book traces the roots of the present "crisis" in health care back to the turn of the century, when the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations donated millions to develop "a medical system to meet the needs of capitalist society" (p. 4). Although the argument is familiar, it comes this time accompanied by new evidence gleaned from the Rockefeller Family and

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Foundation Archives and from the files of the Carnegie Foundation.

As Brown tells the story, late in the nineteenth century the leaders of a divided and dispirited medical profession discovered in "scientific medicine" the basis for a new ideology, designed to monopolize health care and elevate their status and income. To effect their reforms, however, the medical elite needed large sums of money; thus they turned to the corporate class, which was beginning to recognize the potential of scientific medicine for conserving human capital and for legitimizing "the great inequalities of capitalist societies and the misery that results from the private appropriation of human environmental resources" (p. 127). By the early 1920s the foundation-physician coalition had achieved its goals, but at the expense of the majority population, especially the poor, women, and blacks. "Naturally," says Brown, "the most oppressed groups in society suffered the most from the complete professionalization of medicine made possible by scientific medicine" (p. 96).

In a fifty-page epilogue (one-fifth of the text) Brown adopts an unabashedly polemical stance, urging the adoption of an "ecological" strategy to health care that recognizes the social and economic roots of illness, recommending Representative Ronald Dellums's radical Health Service Act "as a model for those who want to reform the U.S. medical care system" (p. 217), and calling for the eventual reorganization of "production around social needs rather than the private accumulation of capital" (p. 238).

Methodologically this book leaves much to be desired. Brown's account of medical developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries abounds with errors great and small. The imprecision of his analysis renders it virtually meaningless. Throughout his book he focuses on the alleged activities of a medical "elite," but his sole effort to identify this amorphous group consists of a note describing the elite as those "physicians who, by their reputation for clinical or research techniques, by income, and/or by organizational leadership positions, had achieved prominence within the profession" (p. 65). His discussion of the corporate philanthropists, the best and freshest part of the book, is marred by a seeming compulsion to reduce motivations largely to economic self-interest, historical evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. Finally, in arguing that the Rockefeller philanthropies "*began* the long process of rationalizing medical care" (p. 239, my emphasis), he displays a gross misunderstanding of medical history. The Rockefeller millions may have accelerated the rationalization of medical care, but they did not initiate the process.

RONALD L. NUMBERS
University of Wisconsin, Madison

LAWRENCE BADASH. *Radioactivity in America: Growth and Decay of a Science.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1979. Pp. xv, 327. $18.95.

In this admirable book, Lawrence Badash tells for the first time the comprehensive story of the American role in the history of radioactivity from the turn of the century to about 1920. Following its discovery in France in 1896, the subject received considerable popular attention in the United States and became the object of research of a handful of American physicists and chemists. Much of their work was derivative, tending to repeat and confirm investigations abroad. Nevertheless, some physicists made solid if not brilliant contributions to the field, and analyses of essential importance were pursued in the years prior to World War I by Bertram B. Boltwood and Herbert N. McCoy. Building upon the fundamental theory of radioactive transformation advanced by Ernest Rutherford and Frederick Soddy in 1902–03, Boltwood and McCoy helped puzzle out the intricate line of descent in the uranium and thorium decay series. Their work pointed to the hypothesis that various radioactive decay products were chemically inseparable and occupied the same place in the periodic table, a conclusion formalized in the theories of group displacement and isotopy propounded by Soddy and others in 1913.

The radiochemists, in Badash's view, were suicidally successful, for the theories of isotopy and group displacement left them with no significant problems to attack until the emergence of nuclear chemistry in the 1930s. While they flourished, the radiochemists found their principal audience among physicists, who eventually absorbed radioactivity into quantum and nuclear physics. Badash also explores briefly the incorporation of radioactive substances into medical research, principally for the treatment of cancer, and examines industrial interest in the mining and processing of radioactive ores. But his main concern—and the book's great strength—is the scientific story.

Badash authoritatively sets the American work in the context of the overall development of the field. He has mastered the original published literature as well as secondary works and has made effective use of pertinent manuscript sources, particularly the Boltwood letters. His explanations of the technical issues are lucid. And taking a commendably historical approach, he confronts the development of radioactivity in its own contemporary terms, relying on the language and ideas employed by scientists of the time and calling in latter-day terminology and results only to illuminate—as opposed to determine—the technical tale. Badash also makes clear the demandingly meticulous nature of both the physical and chemical sides of radioactivity research: the painstaking measurements of radioactive

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products, including their rates of decay, atomic weights, and chemical properties. Badash argues convincingly that the field progressed by slow accretions ("because of the trees the forest became visible" [p. 165]) and he persuades one that the type and quality of American research in radioactivity was in keeping with this country's scientific tradition and stage of development. In all, Badash has produced an indispensable book for its subject.

DANIEL J. KEVLES
California Institute of Technology

NOEL H. PUGACH. *Paul S. Reinsch: Open Door Diplomat in Action.* (KTO Studies in American History.) Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 310. $19.95.

Noel H. Pugach's long-awaited biography of Paul S. Reinsch, heralded by a string of journal articles, has at last appeared. Fair and thorough, it supersedes Reinsch's own memoir, *An American Diplomat in China*, as the starting point for understanding that diplomat's role in the China policy of the Wilson years.

The obligatory coverage here of Reinsch's unrelenting crusade against Japanese influence in China and his failure to persuade the Wilson administration to follow him holds no surprises. Where Pugach goes beyond the memoir and other accounts of China policy for this period is in his deft weaving of the strands of personality and ideology into an explanation of Reinsch's intense and quixotic drive to turn the open door ideal into a reality. The picture that emerges of this University of Wisconsin political science professor, the ambitious and successful son of German immigrants, is that of a driven and somewhat impetuous "action intellectual." Having secured a long-sought diplomatic appointment, Reinsch took with him to China in 1913 a vague but commonplace set of ideas labeled by Pugach "progressive expansionism" (but just as fairly called "liberal internationalism" or even "benevolent imperialism"). These defined American destiny, and hence Reinsch's inescapable duty in China, in terms of protecting and guiding backward countries toward a better future that was also in harmony with the extension of American cultural and economic influence. The fresh final chapter on Reinsch's last year as paid propagandist for the Peking government underlines the persistence of his commitment to this vision and the melancholy fate he suffered in its pursuit.

Rich in its personal perspective, this biography might have put its subject in better historical perspective. Reinsch's was a pivotal generation, coming of age with the expansionist movement of the 1890s, exercising power through World War I, and anticipating the far-flung commitments of the mid-twentieth century. Reinsch's experience in China in the teens epitomizes the disparate, almost clichéd themes of China policy since the 1890s, with all its unrealistic hopes and debilitating confusions: an amateur diplomat come to turn the East upside down, Reinsch found it frustratingly resistant to his will. He clung unquestioningly to the "traditional" and ambiguous policy of the open door as his guide to action. Despite an incredibly long string of reverses, he left, as he had arrived, secure in his faith that technical expertise and "efficient and scientific means of management" (p. 206) coupled with American capital and enterprise were the best instruments at his disposal for unifying, stabilizing, and modernizing China while simultaneously guaranteeing American influence. Devoted to his Chinese "friends," he aroused expectations of support that he could not fulfill, grumbled over their irresponsible behavior, and meddled in their affairs to set things right. In all these respects, Reinsch's story conjures up the shadows of other China-oriented diplomats and policymakers.

In a career in China filled with historical resonance, perhaps the most striking themes are Reinsch's unreal conception of international trade and investment as matters of character and will, not profit and loss; his foredoomed attempts to lure business where it did not want to go; and, finally, his bafflement at its apparently perverse resistance to his lead. Here Pugach is himself curously ambivalent, indicting business for its cynical, selfish, and ill-informed refusal to seize the opportunities that Reinsch held out while also conceding it had "sufficient objective grounds for refusing to invest in China" (p. 288). Pugach, especially in his treatment of the ambiguities of economic expansion, gives us much to ponder.

MICHAEL H. HUNT
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

PHYLLIS KELLER. *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979. Pp. 324. $17.50.

The experiences of Americans of German birth and descent during World War I have attracted renewed interest among historians. The problem was first studied carefully in the 1930s, when it appeared that a second great war would create another crisis for this numerous ethnic group. Contemporary concern, however, seems generally to be rooted in approval of a pluralistic society and hence explores immigrant or ethnic group relationships with the host society. In contrast to much of the recent literature, which is at least partially informed by sociological concepts, Phyllis Keller's interpretation is based on psychological analysis.

Keller approaches the topic through the study of

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three prominent German-American intellectuals—Hugo Münsterberg, George Sylvester Viereck, and Hermann Hagedorn—and their sharply contrasting responses to the crisis of loyalty that accompanied war with Germany. Keller interprets Münsterberg, a distinguished psychologist, as a person pulled by multiple loyalties who sought unsuccessfully to reconcile opposing views and ultimately withdrew, broken in spirit, from public controversy. For Münsterberg, who harbored ambivalent feelings toward his father, Germany symbolized authority, morality, and masculinity. America served as a mother figure, sometimes idealized but other times denigrated as frivolous, vain, and weak. In Keller's view, Münsterberg's experiences paralleled those of German-Americans who identified strongly with the Fatherland and, because their self-esteem was at stake, aggressively defended things German in America. When war came in 1917, this type, suffering from a "sense of diminished worth," renounced "the unacceptable German component of their dual identity."

George Sylvester Viereck, a gifted poet, journalist, and propagandist, represents those German-Americans who became passionate defenders of the Kaiser's cause. Keller intreprets Viereck in terms of his lifelong search for a father figure and his intense involvement with his mother. Preoccupied with sex and beset by unmastered feelings of guilt and ambivalence toward both his parents, Viereck felt an exaggerated need to justify Germany and, by extension, himself.

Hermann Hagedorn, another literary figure, typifies the German-American superpatriot who ardently embraced America and rejected the Fatherland. Hagedorn also suffered personality conflicts grounded in parental relationships; he likewise associated Germany with his father and America with his mother. Characterized as the exemplar of rapid-assimilating German-Americans, Hagedorn turned to the bellicose Theodore Roosevelt as a substitute for his father, who had returned to Germany and renounced his American citizenship.

Keller offers three fascinating, carefully researched psychological portraits. The result is a triptych illuminated by the author's considerable powers of perception and graced by her elegant style. Each subject comes alive, though none is likeable. Münsterberg was arrogant, authoritarian, defensive, insecure; Viereck, an egocentric, decadent, posturing exhibitionist; and Hagedorn, easily the most attractive of the trio, well-intentioned but guilt-ridden and ineffectual. But they are not representative of great segments of the German-American population, despite Keller's efforts (which are not seriously undertaken) to identify them as such. Moreover, the useful division of the German-Americans into chauvinistic pro-Germans, superpatriotic pro-Americans, and confused marginal men is not new. Psychology is invaluable for analyzing the behavior of important persons such as Luther, Wilson, or Nixon. But interpreting the behavior of masses of people on the basis of three such exotic characters as Münsterberg, Viereck, and Hagedorn is questionable.

FREDERICK C. LUEBKE
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

FREDERICK C. LUEBKE. *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I.* (Minorities in American History.) DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 366. $10.00.

Frederick C. Luebke's book is the first full length treatment of German-Americans in the era of World War I to be published in forty years, and it is much more satisfactory than Carl Wittke's *German-Americans and the World War* (1936) or Clifton Child's *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914–1917* (1939). Luebke begins *in media res* with a detailed account of the death in April 1918 of Robert Prager, the only person to be lynched by an anti-German mob. Two excellent background chapters follow describing the size and composition of the German-American population on the eve of the war, U.S. perceptions of Germany, and the general state of feeling among German-Americans and between them and other elements in American society. The remaining seven chapters trace the impact of events upon the fate of the German ethnic group from the outbreak of hostilities in Europe through the election of 1920.

Despite the impression they gave outsiders, German-Americans were far from being a homogeneous group. Denominational animosities ran deep and the broader distinction between the religiously oriented "church Germans" and the more secular "club Germans" was also important. It is one of Luebke's strong points that he explains this situation clearly and shows how the outlook or interests of different subgroups of German-Americans affected their reactions to events. As might have been expected from his earlier work, Luebke also analyzes in detail German ethnic voting in the elections of 1916, 1918, and 1920. He draws less heavily on the German-language press than Wittke did, but provides a fuller review of American opinion and presents, in general, a far more intelligible picture of what was going on. The text is much enhanced by two dozen illustrations, mostly contemporary cartoons that vividly reflect American stereotypes of the Hun and the Hyphenate.

Luebke stresses that the German-Americans' militant defense of the German cause in the years 1914–17 was not animated by political attachment

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to the Fatherland but by concern for their own status in American society. While it is doubtless true that their reaction stemmed mainly from wounded pride and a determination to vindicate their ethnic honor, I am not altogether comfortable with the formulation that their lobbying and so on are to be understood as "efforts to withstand status deprivation." But reservations on matters of interpretive emphasis do not detract from the merits of Luebke's book. It is a very worthwhile study that should have received much more timely notice from the profession than is afforded by this belated review.

PHILIP GLEASON
University of Notre Dame

ELLIS W. HAWLEY. *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order, A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917–1933.* (St. Martin's Series in Twentieth-Century United States History.) New York: St. Martin's Press. 1979. Pp. xvi, 264. Cloth $12.95, paper $4.95.

This is the second in a planned four-volume series by the St. Martin's Press on twentieth century American history. Billed in the subtitle as "A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917–1933," this work has as its *primary* focus the economic sphere. As Ellis W. Hawley admits in the preface, he does not devote much time to "Bohemians, Babbitts, and bootleggers." This book, therefore, can advance no claim to supplant the colorful William Allen White.

The author's goal is to describe "the continued search for a modern managerial order geared to the realization of liberal ideals" and to analyze the collapse of "the world's first mass-consumption economy" (p. v). The result is significant. Drawing heavily on the recent scholarship of the new organizational and managerial school of historians, Hawley sees the 1920s not as the tail-end of an outmoded American past nor as the catalyst for the reforms of the New Deal. The decade's real importance, according to the author, lies in the example it offered to post–Pearl Harbor America. Indeed, Hawley suggests that the ideological and institutional developments occurring during the 1920s laid the foundations for that more recent period of American history.

If Hawley strives somewhat too hard in extending this argument, his basic contentions about the Roaring Decade itself are persuasive. Evaluating the era on its own terms, he finds that the unifying force was not political reaction or economic conservatism but the creation and expansion of new managerial and bureaucratic organizations and techniques intended to advance the common good. World War I, the author believes, set the parameters for the entire ensuing decade, giving it an economic, ideological, ethnocultural, and diplomatic heritage that predetermined much of its development. The "new liberalism" of the New Era (as Hawley calls the 1920s) borrowed heavily from the wartime experience and, riding on the wave of Normalcy prosperity after 1921–22, gave birth to an intensely individualistic philosophy as well as a truly "mass-consumption" society. Chief among the architects of this new orientation were such cabinet officers as Hughes, Wallace, and Hoover. Hawley, a skilled Hoover scholar, frequently places the Great Engineer at the center of the story and weaves much of this development around him. With men like Hoover providing the inspiration, the New Era moved rapidly toward a New Economy (Hawley's term) and a higher self-government based on new technologies, managerial innovations, private business bureaucracies, and associational activities. Early on, however, trouble appeared since the New Economy failed to provide the necessary mechanism to convert suddent growth into a continuing process. This failure ultimately cast doubt on all of the New Era's various formulas for a true "people's capitalism." Nevertheless, much of the apparatus of the 1920s survived the depression catastrophe, says the author, with the government subsequently providing the "balance wheels to replace the private ones that had failed" (p. 99).

There are numerous facets of this synthesis that require more elaboration (and debate) than can be handled here. The curious connection that Hawley perceives between social fragmentation and the innovative thrusts in the economic field is intriguing. So is his claim that the foreign policy of the New Era contained "embryonic forms of corporative planning, world community building, and 'alliances for progress' " (p. 117). His analysis of Hoover's rear-guard action to salvage the essential elements of the New Era after the onset of the Depression, and his labeling of the early New Deal as "Hooverism in high gear," will not please everyone.

Yet, Hawley has provided the most provocative and integrated reinterpretation of the period 1917–33 that we now have—one that generally refrains from re-hashing old material and *seriously* strives to bring fresh insights to the social, cultural, economic, and political system identified with the Roaring Twenties. No scholar of the "between-the-wars" era can afford to miss it.

ROBERT K. MURRAY
Pennsylvania State University

CHARLES F. HOWLETT. *Troubled Philosopher: John Dewey and the Struggle for World Peace.* (Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1977. Pp. xi, 180. $12.50.

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In examining the multifaceted life of the eminent philosopher John Dewey, scholars have emphasized his enthusiastic support of World War I, thereby neglecting his contributions to the peace movement in the period following the war. So contends Charles F. Howlett in this brief and somewhat uncritical study.

Howlett usefully reviews Dewey's early career, sketching his development as a liberal social critic and his maturation as the pre-eminent exponent of instrumentalism. What seems surprising was Dewey's virtual ignoring of the issue of war until World War I, well after he had published many of his seminal works. Howlett conjectures that Dewey may have thought that his philosophy of "socialized intelligence" with its cultivation of rationality, cooperation, and democracy was by definition pacifistic. In any case Dewey shocked his followers by the fervor of his demands for war in 1917. Howlett, however, finds a pacifist theme in Dewey's pragmatic justification for war as a way to bring about world government. Yet the author also states that it was Randolph Bourne's trenchant criticisms of Dewey's failure to see the extent to which the choice of certain means in the emotional climate of war would drastically affect the desired goal that most directly caused Dewey to re-evaluate his thinking after 1918.

The bulk of the book concerns the interwar years. Disillusioned by the peace settlement and upset by his own miscalculations, Dewey visited the Far East in 1919 and lectured in Japan and China until 1921, when he returned to his post at Columbia. Back in the United States he threw himself into various educational campaigns to reduce chauvinism in American textbooks, prevent the establishment of ROTC units on college campuses, and promote the study of history and philosophy as liberating disciplines (when employed to understand contemporary social problems). Much of his time was given over to the movement to outlaw war. Howlett acknowledges that outlawry was primarily a moralistic-legalistic crusade, but he argues unpersuasively that Dewey's approach was pragmatic, in no way an idealistic or utopian fancy. The Depression era and the coming of World War II were also troubled times for Dewey. Not satisfied with the New Deal's liberalism, he was less than comfortable with the Socialists. Distressed with the drift toward war, he ended up a half-hearted supporter of it. He died in 1952, more than ever convinced that war was irrational but receiving even less of a hearing than he had previously.

Howlett's book would have had greater value if he had been more rigorous in defining such difficult terms as pacifist, pragmatist, liberal, and socialist and carefully analyzing the way Dewey incorporated them into his thinking. Nevertheless, students of peace movements and foreign policy may find sections of the book helpful.

RALPH STONE
Sangamon State University

DONALD WORSTER. *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. x, 277. $14.95.

It has been long recognized that the felt issues and attitudes of the times influence historical writing. Donald Worster's book on the dust bowl confirms this fact. He has written about that natural catastrophe on the Southern Plains with all of the feeling of a modern environmentalist. The theme of his study is that man's relationship to the land was exploitative and that he paid the price for foolishly destroying the ecological balance of the Plains.

Part 1 describes the awful dust storms of the 1930s, their influence in driving people out of the region, and their effect on those who remained. In the second section, the author shows how Great Plains grasslands were in ecological balance before they were torn up by the greedy wheatgrowers, mainly during and after World War I. Then he discusses life and society during the 1930s in Cimarron County in the Oklahoma Panhandle and Haskel County in Southwestern Kansas. Drawing materials from federal, state, and local records, as well as from interviews, these chapters are fascinating local history that has broad implications for the entire Great Plains. What happened, according to Worster, was that people were losing their sense of community under the pressures of commercial agriculture and the self-seeking values of American society. Worster's sympathies clearly lie with the few Mennonites in Haskell County who did not succumb to the wheat fever and land destruction policies of many of their neighbors. The last part of the book deals with the generally unsuccessful efforts at land planning during the New Deal, with the conservation programs, and with the development of an ecological consciousness among some scientists. The final chapter is a pitch for men everywhere to get in step with nature before they destroy themselves.

Worster blames the destruction of the Plains on technology and a materialistic, wasteful, capitalistic culture that caused men to do bad things to the land. He sharply criticizes the business spirit in farming, especially the wheat growers who plowed up the native vegetation. He writes with feeling about the relationship between land and home. A highly developed commercial agriculture, which he sees destroying that relationship, is the book's central villain.

This study of the dust bowl provides the author a

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vehicle to attack the system of farming that developed on the Great Plains, and by implication elsewhere in the United States. It is a fervent plea by a strong conservationist for restraints on Great Plains farming. It is highly critical of capitalism. The clarion call is for a change in American attitudes and institutions, including nationalization of more land.

While I disagree with many of the positions taken in this book, I found it an exciting, provocative, and stimulting study. It is well researched and written with skill and feeling. It has much to say to historians, environmentalists, and public policy-makers. Even a few farmers might enjoy it and benefit from it.

GILBERT C. FITE
University of Georgia

HOWARD L. PRESTON. *Automobile Age Atlanta: The Making of a Southern Metropolis, 1900–1935.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1979. Pp. xix, 203. $15.00.

Scholars have attributed the expansive spatial configurations of southern and southwestern cities to the fact that, unlike their counterparts in other regions, these cities and the automobile grew up together. Employing the tools of interdisciplinary urban history, Howard L. Preston probes the interaction between space, technology, and society in automobile-age Atlanta to test this hypothesis. In a conscious attempt to "Warnerize" Atlanta, that is, to do for Atlanta and the auto what Sam Bass Warner, Jr., did for Boston and the streetcar, Preston concludes that while the automobile helped to shape metropolitan Atlanta, other factors in the city and region also influenced the city's spatial and social development. Preston combines the personal insight of a native (which he is) with the facile integration of quantitative (census data, building permits, directories, and registration forms) and qualitative materials to produce a work that on its way to this unsurprising conclusion provides valuable insights for scholars of southern, urban, and planning history.

Preston relates how this relatively small, almost rustic city, through its famous "Atlanta Spirit" emerged by 1920 as the regional center for automobile sales. The multiplier effect of the automobile economy reinforced and expanded the city's commercial and service economy. Spurred by a booming regional economy, mobilized by the auto, and pushed by downtown spatial transformation, Atlantans became suburbanites at a rapid rate after 1920. Simultaneously, public transit declined, racial residential segregation increased, and by 1930 "downtown Atlanta was transformed from a city built to serve the railroad to a metropolis adjusted to accommodate the auto" (p. 144).

In the equation of space, society, and technology (the automobile) Preston's evidence points to a lesser role than he is sometimes willing to admit for his mechanical protagonist. Atlantans attributed many of the changes in their environment to the automobile because it was the newest and most visible (and audible) symbol of the new age. More subtle catalysts in the urban process—demographic change, regional growth, alterations in the urban economic base—which Preston discusses cursorily were less apparent to contemporaries. Second, the relationship between the development of multiple nuclei in metropolitan Atlanta during the 1920s and the automobile is not as obvious as Preston suggests. There is no analysis of workplace decentralization and automobile ownership in the suburbs to establish this connection. Geographic expansion need not signify increased journey-to-work distances. Third, the decline of residential and certain retail land uses in downtown Atlanta was due to economic forces that transcended the automobile and its related commercial activities. Numerous downtown residents owned automobiles for at least a decade prior to their departure for the suburbs. Finally, the automobile only reinforced prevailing patterns of racial residential segregation. In short, the automobile was a facilitator, not an initiator of change in metropolitan Atlanta.

Preston has discussed the complex factors involved in the process of metropolitan growth. More than that he has provided a fascinating study of how politics, planning, regional and local economics, and regional culture can influence metropolitan space and society. Future studies will sort out these variables, analyze some in greater detail, and will inevitably refer to Preston's book for valuable methodological and comparative insights.

DAVID R. GOLDFIELD
Stockholm University

SIDNEY FINE. *Frank Murphy: The New Deal Years.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 708. $42.00.

Frank Murphy, one of the major public servants of the Roosevelt and Truman presidencies, had a wide-ranging career firmly in the progressive tradition. As an administrator he fought for social reforms, clean government, and a balanced budget; as a Supreme Court justice he was a defender of civil liberties. His personal life bordered on the enigmatic. He was a rather ascetic, quite religious bachelor, courting numerous women but never marrying. As governor general of the Philippines he enjoyed the luxury of the Malacañan palace, yet as governor of Michigan lived during the first part of his term in a hotel room.

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In the second volume of his monumental biography of Murphy, Sidney Fine covers Murphy's years in the Philippines and as governor of Michigan. The research is exhaustive, the evaluations thoughtful. Fine raises difficult questions; his answers solidly place Murphy among the more effective New Dealers.

When Murphy arrived in the Philippines in 1933 there were signs of the problems that have since become acute. There was already a concentration of wealth and political power among a few leaders. Politicians showed tendencies toward authoritarianism, and through nepotism had overloaded an inefficient bureaucracy. Murphy was a strong governor general, seeking governmental efficiency, a balanced budget, the social services. He played an influential role in the transition to a Commonwealth, insisting upon woman suffrage in the new constitution, and becoming the first high commissioner. Yet he himself lived as an overprivileged proconsul, stretching his expense account to cover himself, relatives, and friends, enabling him to save almost his entire salary.

By and large Murphy's years in the Philippines were to his liking and he enjoyed them. He was ambitious. A predecessor, Henry L. Stimson, had gone on to become secretary of state. Murphy aspired to do likewise, or at least to become attorney general, but his only viable opportunity was to run for governor of Michigan.

President Roosevelt strongly encouraged Murphy to get into the race, indeed in 1936 gave him no other choice. Roosevelt expected Michigan to be difficult to carry and thought the drawing power of Murphy, who had been a popular mayor of Detroit, would carry Roosevelt through. The reverse turned out to be the case. Murphy, trailing well behind the president, won by only 40,000 votes.

As governor, Murphy gave Michigan a "little New Deal" paralleled in effectiveness only by those of New York and Pennsylvania. He was, as in the Philippines, conservative fiscally and an energetic liberal in questions of social welfare and government efficiency. With the aid of University of Michigan specialists, he established a model state program to implement the new federal Social Security Act.

National interest focused upon one spectacular aspect of Murphy's administration, his mediation of the General Motors sit-down strike of 1936–1937. New evidence that has become available since Fine's monograph on the strike, published in 1969, substantiates his previous conclusions. Murphy's adroit avoidance of potential violence raised him to a pinnacle of popularity. *Time* hailed him as a presidential possibility for 1940. A plague of sit-downs followed in Michigan and elsewhere, severely diminishing Murphy's (and Roosevelt's) popularity.

Circumstances defeated Murphy in the election of 1938 despite his able campaign. His efforts, parallel to those of Roosevelt nationally to build the Democratic party from a minority into a permanent majority, were not immediately successful in Michigan. Old-line Democrats wanted only the faithful rewarded and objected to his appointments of one-time progressive Republicans, union leaders, blacks, and women. With the Democratic organization split and voters throughout the state reacting against both reforms and unions, Murphy lost. The former Republican governor, returned to power, reversed many of Murphy's achievements. The Michigan phase of Murphy's career was at an end and his hopes for the presidency were gone, but shortly after the election Roosevelt appointed him to one of the offices he had long sought, to be attorney general.

FRANK FREIDEL
Harvard University

BARBARA BLUMBERG. *The New Deal and the Unemployed: The View From New York City.* Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press. 1979. Pp. 332. $19.50.

Barbara Blumberg's study of relief in New York City during the Great Depression confirms the observation of most New Deal historians that the city had greater successes than other cities or states. New York, state and city, undertook to promote public and private responses to growing unemployment earlier and with more resources than occurred elsewhere in the nation before 1933. After the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia did everything in his power to work with the New Deal administration to establish programs that would provide jobs for the city's unemployed and, at the same time, renew and repair the city physically.

Much of this study is concerned with the operation of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and how it worked in New York City to relieve distress among the jobless in all occupational categories. In addition to street construction, refurbishment of public buildings, airport construction (La Guardia Airport), and textile goods production, the city's WPA also supervised one of the largest programs for artists, musicians, writers, and actors (Federal Project No. 1).

Although Blumberg is enthusiastic about the successes of the relief program, she does not minimize the problems: tens of thousands of unemployed could not be enrolled because of a lack of funds; some projects could not match the efficiency of private enterprise; and pro- and anti-radical campaigns disrupted the efficiency of some of the projects. Her conclusions, based on the evidence she

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develops, suggest the view that from the perspective of New York City the New Deal work relief program enabled millions of New Yorkers to survive the depression with a measure of dignity. Medical clinics, day care nurseries, art and music classes, job training, literacy classes, and a host of other projects enriched the lives of the city's inhabitants.

In spite of the vast sums spent in the city, the WPA remained remarkably free from scandal and partisan politics. The reasons for its enviable record were that: the New York City WPA remained administratively separate from the rest of the state, the mayor wanted to avoid partisanship and recommended the appointment of men who were not tied to him or Tammany Hall, and the directors possessed uncommon managerial ability.

The particular value of this book to historians of the New Deal period is the information presented on the blue-collar projects. Hundreds of these projects preserved skills or developed skills so that when industrial production began to soar in the 1940s an energetic and qualified labor force was available. Many women and blacks were aided by these projects.

Finally, this work adds to the growing literature on the operation of the New Deal at the local and state levels. It suggests that the New Deal was unable to reach all the goals of its promoters, but it succeeded in confounding its detractors.

DAVID J. MAURER
Eastern Illinois University

THOMAS A. BAILEY and PAUL B. RYAN. *Hitler vs. Roosevelt: The Undeclared Naval War*. New York: Free Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 303. $12.95.

This is a strange book. Had the authors and publishers stopped after the manuscript was completed, the reader or reviewer would have minor complaints about a modest book; the real problems are with how the book is presented on the jacket and in the preface.

Thomas A. Bailey and Paul B. Ryan have provided a straightforward compilation of information gleaned mostly from secondary sources about events leading up to American entry into World War II. There is a limited amount of new information and considerable speculation about what went on in the minds of major figures. The only originality appears in the closing seventeen pages where an analysis is presented. The conclusion of that analysis? That neither Roosevelt nor Hitler wanted war in the Atlantic in December 1941. Few, other than the most die-hard, unreconstructed revisionist, would be shocked by that revelation.

The problem is that the book jacket contends that the authors have solved "mysteries" by consulting previously "unused" sources and have uncovered things long "unheralded." There *are* two footnote references to British state papers that became available in 1971, but nothing to send researchers racing for the Public Record Office. On the other hand, the relevant sources overlooked and easily available during the past five years would fill pages. More unfortunately, there is a forced attempt in the preface and tacked on here and there in the manuscript to build up the impression that we are about to be let in on the "compelling story of the historic clash" between FDR and Adolf Hitler. Instead, what Bailey and Ryan offer is considerable guessing about how one or the other might have felt on this, that, or the other occasion, as well as many hints about how their personalities influenced events. For example, they claim, regarding the ultimate declarations of war, that "there can be little doubt that a bitter personal feud between Hitler and Roosevelt lay behind the open clash." No hard evidence, however, and little in the nature of original speculation about this "feud" is provided.

Modesty is the quality most desired of authors and publishers of modest books.

JAMES R. LEUTZE
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

RANDALL BENNETT WOODS. *The Roosevelt Foreign-Policy Establishment and the "Good Neighbor": The United States and Argentina, 1941–1945*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas. 1979. Pp. xiii, 277. $18.00.

Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor program, which had been intended for all the world but never got beyond Latin America, has generally received good grades from its historians. In part, I suspect, this has been because many of these writers were themselves participants in some of the programs and relished the excitement of those years. Another generation of scholars, including David Green and Dick Steward, have looked at tariff and market questions and have drawn conclusions not always favorable to the Roosevelt aura. Now Randall Bennett Woods examines the diplomacy of the Good Neighbor from the inside looking out, with special emphasis on relations with Argentina. The lengthy title accurately describes the contents, and most specialists will find Woods's efforts rewarding. He knows the secondary materials but relies much more heavily upon broad and substantial research in government and private archives (I can find few gaps in the research and somewhat reluctantly point out that, depending upon the date he began his work, Woods might have found some state department functionaries to interview.)

Woods's thesis is clear. During the war the Good

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Neighbor program was constantly stymied by Argentina's foreign policy, which was loosely and variously called nationalist, isolationist, anti-U.S., or pro-Axis, but which possessed quite logical domestic origins. That story is well known; what Woods has done is to provide the reader with a careful and informative analysis of the game that went on in Washington as various groups tried to persuade FDR what to do with Argentina. There were several teams, and you cannot tell them without a score card: Welles, Duggan, Bonsal, and Callado led what Woods calls the Latin Americanists, who above all wanted regional unity and nonintervention in Argentine affairs. Hull, Long, and sometimes Berle led Woods's internationalists, who saw Argentina as a nuisance in the backwaters of Latin America to be coerced into fighting the Axis or be considered an enemy. Then there were the hardliners from Treasury—Morgenthau and White—who wanted to wage complete economic war on the Argentines even at the expense of Hull's program; meanwhile, wandering out in left field was Henry Wallace, who could hate the Argentines when he thought them fascists but might join any group temporarily.

As one would suspect, the lines do not remain neat, and Woods perhaps overdraws them, but his groupings help a great deal to explain the relations with Buenos Aires for some dozen years, long enough, in fact, to bring the famous short reliever, Nelson Rockefeller, out of the bull-pen for another save. Coincidentally we reinforce our knowledge of the president, who seems to have enjoyed the chaos that he created by sicking these groups upon one another. The struggle between Hull and Welles is finely done, and if you have favored one man over the other, you should now gain sympathy and understanding for them both.

My complaints are trivial: nations do not literally leap (p. 161); the lack of a few hyphens creates some strange spellings (pp. 13 and 45); and probably of necessity there is repetition of Woods's theme as well as the expressions "Hull, Long and their associates" or "Welles, Bonsal, Duggan and their subordinates." Otherwise Woods writes clearly and objectively as he adds significantly to our knowledge of the New Deal days.

THOMAS L. KARNES
Arizona State University

AUGUST MEIER and ELLIOTT RUDWICK. *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. Pp. xii, 289. $15.00.

This able case study of race relations in Detroit describes a major reorientation in the relationship between blacks and the American labor movement. Prior to the 1930s most labor unions excluded blacks or restricted them to Jim Crow units. Most black workers were consequently skeptical of organized labor and often demonstrated marked loyalty to their employers. Then during the Great Depression and Second World War the United States witnessed the emergence and phenomenal growth of racially egalitarian industrial unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Unlike craft unions, whose bargaining power depended on the control of strategically located skilled jobs, industrial unions depended on their ability to organize all workers in a given industry. Thus in industries such as automobile manufacturing, where blacks were employed in substantial numbers, successful and effective unionization depended to a great degree on the inclusion of Negro workers. To attract black members the CIO unions prohibited racial discrimination, worked to eliminate job bias, and employed Negroes as organizers and officials. These egalitarian policies were motivated primarily by considerations of expediency, but they nevertheless laid the foundation for working-class solidarity.

The outlines of this story are familiar, but August Meier and Elliott Rudwick break new ground in presenting a detailed and extraordinarily complex account of the situation in Detroit. They note that the transition was not entirely smooth. The UAW was not able to eradicate racial prejudice among its members, and many blacks remained skeptical. It was not until the Ford strike of 1941 that the UAW finally managed to cement an alliance with blacks. The cause of biracial trade unionism then received an additional boost during the aftermath of the Detroit race riot of 1943, when the UAW supported blacks in a series of controversies over public housing and police brutality. In offering a detailed analysis of the events of 1941 and 1943, the authors have presented a vivid account of changing race relations in a major industrial city.

Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW is basically "organizational" in its approach—focusing on the cleavages and policies of the UAW and of the major black advancement organizations (especially the NAACP). Yet the discussion is so thorough that the reader also learns an enormous amount about the values and attitudes of rank-and-file workers. By focusing in detail on union race relations in a single city, this deeply researched monograph happily demonstrates that it is possible to obliterate the distinction that often separates organizational labor history from the social history of working people.

RAYMOND WOLTERS
University of Delaware

ALAN CLIVE. *State of War: Michigan in World War II.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 301. $15.00.

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In the past decade or so, historians have begun intensive scrutiny of the American homefront during the Second World War. Their varied studies have demonstrated that the war years at home were both eventful and important and have also produced differing views on the nature of the war's impact and the extent of change and continuity in the era. In *State of War: Michigan in World War II*, Alan Clive has written a valuable addition to the literature on the domestic side of the war, one that sheds light on both the events and the significance of the war years.

Clive's principal purpose is to examine Michigan's economic and social history from 1941 to 1945. Focusing on economic mobilization and its effects, the book in a series of thoroughly researched topical chapters studies the state's institutions and people from the automobile industry, labor unions, communities, and government to blacks, in-migrants, women, and families. Much of the book, corroborating other accounts of the period, tells essentially a familiar story, but it does so in lucid, readable, and informative detail, and it amplifies knowledge and expands understanding of the homefront experience. Partly because Michigan's World War II history—with massive conversion, the UAW, heavy in-migration, and the Detroit race riot—has special importance, partly because Clive carefully puts his findings in national perspective, the book is a state case study that illuminates national history.

Such criticisms as can be lodged primarily involve omission and emphasis and stem largely from the purposely delimited focus on economic mobilization and its consequences. For example, the book takes little note of politics; yet politics (as Clive's treatment of the racial dimension in Detroit's 1943 and 1945 mayoral elections reveals) were central to American culture and reflected much about the era's developments and mentality. Harder to understand is the virtual disregard of immigrant groups, for only six states had a higher percentage of immigrants in 1940, and beyond the general importance of the period's ethnic history several of Michigan's largest immigrant groups were those for whom the war years had particular significance.

Besides recounting economic and social history, Clive also explores the important question of change and continuity. He shows how the war brought major economic, institutional, and social change: prosperity, expanded business power and prestige, added power and acceptance for organized labor, a larger role for government, new circumstances for blacks and women, for example. But Clive reveals too the inertia and resistance to change, the inhibiting selfishness and parochialism, the continuity in attitudes, habits, and institutions that were also basic to the era. Precisely measuring change and continuity is impossible, of course, but Clive rightly emphasizes the importance—for postwar as well as for wartime America—of the hold of old ideas and old ways amid the demands and flux of the war years. In all, *State of War* is a good, solid book that enlarges understanding of the World War II homefront and the war's impact on American life.

JOHN W. JEFFRIES
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

WILLIAM E. PEMBERTON. *Bureaucratic Politics: Executive Reorganization During the Truman Administration.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1979. Pp. 262. $21.00.

William Pemberton has done a remarkable job of providing a basis for forcing historians to take another look at a topic they have not tended to find interesting: administrative reorganization. His account of the Truman experience is by far the best book on the politics of administration any historian has yet produced. In 177 tightly packed pages he takes us through the history of one of the most complete and most complex reorganization efforts in the history of our modern government. The fact that he is able to construct a perfectly recognizable narrative account out of the administrative and political data he has assembled is itself a tribute to organizational management. While he has decided not to tackle the problem of administrative theory and its relation to the work of the Hoover Commission—a decision this reviewer found disappointing even though it probably reflects a position most historians would agree with—what he does accomplish by concentrating on the politics of bureaucratic reorganization is more than sufficient in itself.

Truman used reorganization to assure that those aspects of the New Deal that could be salvaged from the onslaught of reaction against it would be not only preserved but also strengthened. He managed also to turn the disaster the Hoover Commission was almost certain to become into a major step forward, using the perennially unpopular Hoover to make reorganization popular. Pemberton nonetheless puzzles, at times critically, at Truman's transformation in the presidency, from a crusading reorganization devotee at the beginning, to a cautious if not suspicious, manager at the end. As Pemberton's evidence suggests, Truman was learning what all presidents learn: that attacks on the bureaucracy and its long term alliances with power groups in Congress and interests groups throughout the country are costly attacks, particularly when the president discovers that foreign policy may be the most necessarily absorbing problem of his administration.

At the same time, administration is the way gov-

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ernment actually works and bureaucracy is the professional system for providing the man power and the mind power to make it work. The nation's resources are bureaucratically managed and distributed. Opportunities come to be, civil rights are protected, the pursuit of happiness is transformed from pious phrase to reality for those for whom it is real by what government enables people to do. The fight between president and Congress over who is going to control the process is a real fight, and from time to time we come to see that it is in our interest that the battle not be resolved. As Pemberton suggests in his conclusion, we have more reason to know now that we want efficient executives hobbled from time to time than we thought we did in Truman's day.

This book is a useful study of problems that are admittedly less exciting than many other political issues; but there is a bedrock quality to such problems. We have to be grateful for historians who are willing to dig for them.

BARRY D. KARL
University of Chicago

FRANCIS H. THOMPSON. *The Frustration of Politics: Truman, Congress, and the Loyalty Issue, 1945–1953.* Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1979. Pp. 246. $16.50.

A quarter of a century after America experienced its first Red Scare, Harry Truman fell victim to "another witch-hunt of the 1920 variety," writes Francis H. Thompson. This demagogic crusade, led by "self-styled patriots" on Capitol Hill, culminated in 1950 with congressional passage, over Truman's veto, of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act and Senator Joseph McCarthy's emergence as a latter-day A. Mitchell Palmer.

Thompson asserts that New Left historians have erred in their claim that Truman instigated this paranoid regression himself by, among other things, launching in 1947 a federal employee loyalty-security investigation. "Such an incredibly naive view," Thompson contends, ignores the many challenges Truman faced, especially a reactionary Republican Eightieth Congress bent on legislating extremist antisubversive measures. The loyalty probe was thus "a necessary evil," initiated by a libertarian president who, in overseeing the program, restrained an over-zealous attorney general and with lesser success an even more zealous FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover. The Red Scare intensified during Truman's second term; alarmist rhetoric overwhelmed national sensibilities following the Alger Hiss trial and China's fall to the Communists. Still, claims Thompson, the president "might have diluted the venom of the attack that came later" had he appointed in 1949 a bipartisan commission to review his loyalty program's effectiveness (p. 162). By waiting until 1951 to organize the Nimitz Commission, Truman defaulted to congressional opponents who by then possessed enough power to block his commission's work.

A decade ago, Alan Harper traversed the same political terrain in his book, *The Politics of Loyalty: The White House and the Communist Issue*, and Thompson's survey amplifies Harper's thesis that Harry Truman maneuvered defensively on the loyalty issue. Especially revealing in this regard are memoranda Thompson drew from the recently opened papers of Truman adviser George M. Elsey. In addition, Thompson's sprightly narrative chronicles important shifts in public opinion and editorial comment during the period. Beyond this, the book promises more than it delivers. While the reader is assured at the outset that this study will go beyond the "narrow context" and "simplistic framework," it does not. The volume is largely a recitation of the Truman Administration's response to congressional initiatives. Those "many complex realities" that the author repeatedly says must be considered are mostly not—one of them, Henry A. Wallace's political challenge, is ignored altogether. Nor is there an effort to explain people's motives. Except for presidential aide Stephen J. Spingarn, personalities stand devoid of biographical elucidation. Indeed, the only reference to Truman's formative conditioning is the questionable observation that the Missourian possessed an "unschematic, populist mind" (p. 47). Then, too, a more judicious portrayal of Truman's congressional opponents might have resulted had the author researched the papers of Republican leaders Karl Mundt and Robert A. Taft. Also not consulted were the papers of administration ally Senator Millard Tydings.

Harry Truman placed great stress upon the need to gather "the facts." Until more of them are marshaled on this loyalty debate, combined with broader interpretive vision, this important episode will remain the subject of unresolved speculation.

MONTE M. POEN
Northern Arizona University

THOMAS G. PATERSON. *On Every Front: The Making of the Cold War.* (Norton Essays in American History.) New York: W. W. Norton. 1979. Pp. xii, 210. Cloth $14.95, paper $3.95.

Thomas G. Paterson has come to be recognized as one of the foremost analysts of the Cold War era. His trademark is dedicated research and meticulous scholarship. *On Every Front* is one more example of this scholarship. This brief but opulently documented essay combines numerous interpretations of

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the Cold War's origins with the author's own insights and analyses.

The first three chapters vividly describe a devastated postwar Europe and an untouched United States. From the political chaos left by the war emerged a bipolar world complete with the spheres of influence that had been spawned by the mutual distrust of the two great powers. Paterson suggests that both nations were responsible for this political division. The Americans tried to distinguish between "open" and "exclusive" spheres, but that distinction made little sense to the Russians. Paterson also doubts the validity of this distinction.

Having set the historical scene, *On Every Front* proceeds to answer the question why the United States and Soviet Union behaved in the way they did. Internal factors were part of the explanation for American policy. "Certain fundamentals"—ideals, economic and strategic needs, power—guided this country. While Paterson argues that economics played an important role in the course of events, ideals receive their just due. The two are described as inextricably interrelated. Furthermore, the tactics and style of President Truman also affected American policy. While fundamentals are essential, "how we behave affects how others react to us," Paterson argues, "and hence influences the outcome of negotiations" (p. 94). He believes that the differences between Truman's and Roosevelt's basic policies were exaggerated by the Soviet Union. Truman's "get tough" style and his propensity to be selective in the type of information he received from his advisers exacerbated the postwar situation even if the basic policy remained the same. Paterson further contends that at home Truman led public opinion and Congress rather than being led by them.

This work attempts to treat both the American and Soviet roles in the Cold War. But due to the paucity of available documentation, analysis of the Soviet Union is meager, speculative, and uncertain. The book devotes only one chapter specifically to Soviet policy. In it, Paterson summarizes the prevailing interpretations of Soviet motivations. Ideology is discussed. National interests explain much. Paterson believes that the Russian quest for geographic security accounts for the advances in Eastern Europe. Postwar economic woes partially explain the Kremlin's stance on reparations. Stalin's personality and his totalitarian propensities are also considered. Finally, just as Truman's truculent style affected American policy, so the author suggests that the gruff Russian manner inhibited negotiations and eroded goodwill.

This highly readable volume should be of interest to scholars, students, and amateur historians. A detailed historiographical essay at the end enhances its value. Paterson has produced a work that, while sympathetically critical of the United States, presents a balanced and well-argued assessment of the early Cold War years.

T. MICHAEL RUDDY
St. Louis University

LARRY BERMAN. *The Office of Management and Budget and the Presidency, 1921–1979.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 180. Cloth $15.00, paper $4.95.

In this brief study political scientist Larry Berman views the history of the Bureau of the Budget (now the Office of Management and Budget) as a "window" through which to view the evolution of the presidency. The modern bureau emerged when Franklin Roosevelt sought for means to cope with the complexities of big government. In 1939 this search led to creation of the Executive Office of the President, with the bureau as part of it. The bureau quickly became the center of the institutionalized presidency under Director Harold Smith (1939–1946). Smith believed that it provided the president with the only point from which he could get a government-wide perspective. It gave him rapid, impartial staff analysis not available from his cabinet or personal staff. The varied and crucial services provided by the bureau included budget formulation, legislative clearance, administrative improvement, and program development and coordination. It not only served the president but also the presidency, a distinction always hard to maintain and that increasingly became blurred.

Although the bureau performed well during most of the 1940s and 1950s, the activist presidencies of the 1960s and 1970s provided challenges that it could not successfully meet. Increasingly, it served the president's *demands*, Berman concludes, not his *needs*. The bureau found it difficult to cope with the administratively complex programs of the Great Society. Its staff became rigidified. The 1970 reorganization plan that replaced the bureau with the Office of Management and Budget did not significantly overcome the weaknesses that had developed. The future of the OMB remains tied to that of the individual presidents, which means that its future remains troubled.

Although there are a few gaps in his research, Berman based this study on the most important archival sources. Unfortunately, his seemingly whimsical choices of what material to footnote obscured the extent of his research. But this book will help historians understand the importance of the BOB-OMB and its relationship to the modern presidency. It adds to our understanding of the complexity of the problems of the institutional presidency. It raises important questions, without always

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giving satisfactory answers, about the nature of agencies and their relationship to the environment within which they operate. This is a very brief study that narrows its focus to one aspect, although the most important, of the BOB-OMB's activities. One of its merits is that it should encourage someone to write a full-scale history of this important agency.

WILLIAM E. PEMBERTON
University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

CHARLES D. BENSON and WILLIAM BARNABY FAHERTY. *Moonport: A History of Apollo Launch Facilities and Operations.* (NASA History Series.) Washington: Scientific and Technical Information Office, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. 1978. Pp. xx, 636. $8.00.

This is the first of five volumes conceived in the mid-1960s to chronicle the achievements of the Apollo program. Published a decade after the Apollo 8 mission first took men around the moon and the Apollo 11 mission placed men on the moon and retrieved them, this book narrates the complicated story of the detailed design, development, and operations of the home base for those achievements. Focused on Launch Complex 39 (LC-39) on Merritt Island of Cape Canaveral at Kennedy Space Center, this history analyzes the groundwork necessary for manned spaceflights to the moon. It also synthesizes the backgrounds of technological, contemporary, and governmental interactions necessary for the organizational teamwork behind those launches.

Although aptly titled, *Moonport* is a formidable book. Its twenty-four chapters move from the genesis of the Saturn rocket program in 1957–58 through the completion of the extended lunar exploration missions of Apollo 15, 16, and 17 in 1971–72. The preface and final chapter offer critical remarks from a five-year perspective, most notably perhaps being the "grossly overbuilt" appearance of LC-39 given the temporal and spatial successes of the Apollo-Saturn program in 1969. Charles D. Benson and William Barnaby Faherty explain how the space race of the 1960s led to overdesign at the Cape and why Apollo-Saturn became "a victim of its own success" (p. 499). Detente in American-Soviet relations was probably the main reason.

For all its virtues, *Moonport* is still less than a third of the NASA History Series devoted to the Apollo program. More recently published is *Chariots for Apollo: A History of Manned Lunar Spacecraft* (1979) by C. G. Brooks, J. M. Grimwood, and L. S. Swenson, Jr. and Roger Bilstein's *Stages to Space: A Technological History of the Apollo-Saturn Launch Vehicles* is forthcoming. When these three program histories from the field centers in Florida, Alabama, and Texas are compared, it should become obvious that the next scholarly step toward a full understanding of the advent of manned spaceflight will be to compare American astronautics with Soviet cosmonautics.

LOYD S. SWENSON, JR.
University of Houston

CANADA

JOHN KENDLE. *John Bracken: A Political Biography.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 318. $17.50.

John Bracken was a plain, no-nonsense, businesslike, rather dull man, and this biography is ideally suited to its subject. Premier of Manitoba for twenty uninterrupted years and leader of the Progressive-Conservative Party of Canada for six, Bracken entered public life as the indirect result of a Hardyesque twist of fate, the inadvertent omission of his name from the list of successful matriculants at an Ontario high school. Believing that this "failure"—it later transpired that he had done well in the examinations—shut the door on his youthful ambition of studying medicine or law, he returned to the family farm and set out to become an expert in scientific agriculture. This led in time to a succession of positions in western Canada, culminating in 1920 in the principalship of the Manitoba Agricultural College. By then his nearly fifteen years in the West had made him widely known and respected as a keen, well-informed student of the farming community's problems and needs.

In 1922 the United Farmers of Manitoba, finding themselves with a plurality of seats in the newly elected legislature but lacking a leader competent to become premier, besought Bracken to take that office. Although he had shown little interest in politics and no taste for partisan warfare, he accepted. For the next two decades, surmounting various crises and strengthening his government by uniting the provincial Liberals with the farmers' party, he administered the province with a prudent, systematic husbandry that clearly reflected the character of the man. During the Great Depression Bracken emerged as a pre-eminent spokesman for the devastated and disaffected prairie region. With his colleagues he skillfully developed and presented an approach to the thorny subject of dominion-provincial financial relations that closely resembled the analysis in the monumental report of the Rowell-Sirois Commission. That period was the high point of his public career.

Seemingly Bracken, had he so chosen, could have remained in power for many more years to come,

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but another unexpected challenge was yet to be grasped. In 1942 he rather surprisingly agreed to stand for the leadership of the national Conservative Party, apparently sharing the belief of his promoters that he would bring with him the support of the farming population. At last, however, the Peter Principle came into play. He soon discovered the vast difference between governing a relatively homogeneous province with well-defined interests and leading a divided, disorganized opposition party in a vast, heterogeneous country. He was simply not up to the task and after many vicissitudes resigned in 1948 to live for the most part in quiet retirement until his death in 1969.

Handicapped by a paucity of Bracken papers, John Kendle has written a useful addition to Canadian political historiography. The character of its central figure emerges pretty clearly, although more might have been made of his self-esteem, ambition, and susceptibility to flattery. In addition, Manitoba politics and Bracken's political methods are treated somewhat superficially, with the result that neither his motivations nor the reasons for his remarkable success in provincial politics are plumbed quite as deeply as one might wish.

ROGER GRAHAM
Queen's University

JACQUES ROUILLARD. *Les syndicats nationaux au Québec de 1900 à 1930.* (Cahiers d'histoire de l'Université Laval, number 24.) Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval; distributed by ISBS, Forest Grove, Oreg. 1979. Pp. 342. $15.00.

Students of North American trade unionism have long known of the presence of confessional unions in Quebec. But Philip Taft mentions them only briefly in his study of the AFL, and two older works by Maltais (1925) and Latham (1930) are insufficiently researched by authors with axes to grind. Since Quebec is the only place north of the Rio Grande where American international unions have met such persistent competition, this new study is especially welcome. Jacques Rouillard, author of an earlier work on Quebec textile workers, has written a clear, concise, and first-rate if traditionally conceived study, rooted firmly in a broad range of trade-union proceedings and files, newspapers, government and church documents, and manuscript collections.

The author's signal achievement is to disentangle the story of Quebec national unions, appearing at the turn of the century, from the better-known confessional unions organized somewhat later. He argues convincingly that the early Quebec groups shared a pan-Canadian nationalism modeled after Henri Bourassa's vision. Differing from the American international unions in several ways, the Quebec national unions, especially strong in textile, clothing, and shoe industries vulnerable to outside competition, pursued more conciliatory policies toward employers, endorsed government arbitration of industrial disputes, and freely engaged in political action. If their tactics differed from the American unions, their goals were the same—higher wages and shorter hours. Yet Rouillard details a chronicle of failed hopes and dreams; Quebec national trade unionists bickered with their English-Canadian counterparts and faced an indifferent or hostile federal government that preferred to do business with the AFL Canadian affiliate, the Trades and Labor Congress. Battles over Regulation 17 and conscription opened an unbridgable chasm between French- and English-speaking unionists. After the war the burgeoning new confessional unions completely overshadowed them.

Rouillard traces clerical interest in Quebec labor organization back to Mgr. Bégin's well-known intervention into a shoeworkers' strike at Quebec City in 1901 and attributes growing Church interest to a fear of socialism and a desire to put the Church's new social doctrine (*Singulari quadam*) into practice. Although bitterly opposed by the American internationals (who finally got around to appointing a bilingual organizer for Quebec in 1913), the confessional unions managed to attract nearly twenty thousand adherents by 1930. Still, Quebec employers refused to surrender their traditional prerogatives, and Rouillard concludes that the Church's corporatist model, stressing an essential harmony between employers and workers, "relève d'un idéal généreux certes, mais quand même utopique" (p. 250).

There was no little irony in the triumph of confessional unions over the earlier and more secularized Quebec national movement. While the nationalists, along with the international unions, had accepted the constraints growing out of industrialism, Rouillard argues that the confessional unions shared with their Knights of Labor predecessors a set of outmoded preindustrial attitudes. Of necessity, he asserts, the Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada soon lost much of its initial idealism, adopted collective bargaining strategies, and acted more and more like other North American unions until the corporate model was finally abandoned in 1960.

Why, then, did American trade unions fail to capture the hearts and minds of all Quebec workers? The author delineates a number of lesser factors but recognizes that the best answer lies in the pervasive influence of French-Canadian culture. He is content, though, merely to recognize the difficulty of assessing this factor, leaving unexplained why, in some workplaces in Quebec but not in others, an

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ethnic consciousness gave way to or was submerged into a job or even class-based outlook. Yet the book will provide the necessary if broader institutional context for studies that make headway on this question by examining the behavior of specific groups of workers within Quebec communities, exploring the tensions between French-Canadian cultural patterns and the new industrial order.

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LATIN AMERICA

CHARLES F. NUNN. *Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico, 1700–1760.* (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 31.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 243. $24.95.

Historical knowledge is generously sprinkled with beliefs or assumptions that have a sort of traditional character, hallowed through long acceptance by most scholars in the field. Of particular significance, therefore, is the appearance of a study that not only alters such a belief but also in the process provides a body of new information that is solidly based on extensive research. *Foreign Immigrants* fits this description.

For many years most Latin Americanists have accepted the axiom that the combination of Spain's xenophobia and its adherence to a mercantilist philosophy led to the enunication and maintenance of a policy that, with a few exceptions, successfully excluded foreigners from its American empire. Nunn, however, demonstrates that this assumption needs considerable modification. His study provides one more example of the hazard of confusing the expressed intent of the law with the reality that actually prevailed.

The book is several things. It is a good exegesis, carefully organized, with its theses clearly proposed and as clearly supported. It reveals, by categories, who the immigrants were, how they entered New Spain, and, once there, the hazards they faced. Nunn also offers cogent explanations of the working of the system as it related to these migrants, thus providing both a necessary description of the milieu and an explanation of Spanish motivations. For example, his account of the roles of the Asiento and the Inquisition, the pitfalls to be avoided by the immigrants, and the working of both the Spanish and the colonial bureaucracy are relevant and enlightening.

Nunn points out that because Spain conquered an empire that, in its important centers, already contained a numerous population, it had no urgent need for a great flood of settlers. Therefore, it exercised control of the quality of immigrants rather than the quantity, employing, naturally, its particular cultural criteria of desirability, the most obvious of which were religious acceptability, family status, and usefulness of occupation. But, perhaps to the surprise of many, the administrators of this early Bourbon period exhibited a humane and compassionate attitude toward foreigners that is not generally consonant with the standard portrayal of the intolerant, regulation-bound Spaniard. Even in the matter of the faith there was tolerance. "Religious conformity, though crucial, was seldom a difficult thing to demonstrate or to obtain" (p. 68).

It would be irresponsible to fail to make note of the two remarkable appendixes that complete Nunn's study. Representing a staggering amount of painstaking and meticulous labor, Appendix I lists the names, birthplaces, and birthdates of 431 foreigners who resided in New Spain between 1700 and 1760, when and why each of them came to the attention of the authorities, what action was taken in each case, the locale of the proceedings, and each person's occupation. In addition, each entry has a footnote that provides further data on that individual. Appendix II lists 178 Jesuit foreigners, with relevant data.

All colonialists should own this book.

BERNARD E. BOBB
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STEPHEN WEBRE. *José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960–1972.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1979. Pp. xiii, 233. $14.95.

This is an excellent book. It is a striking example of scholarship presented with clarity and grace. It demonstrates that the historian need not wait for the dust to settle in order to apply his or her craft to the human experience.

The history of the Christian Democratic party in El Salvador may only be a decade in length, but Stephen Webre perceives well its place in the last fifty years of Salvadoran history, as well as its relationship to similar movements in Latin America and the world. Essentially, that history records the efforts of a segment of the educated middle class in El Salvador to achieve political freedom and social justice, guided by moral precepts not exclusively Catholic, or even Christian, in nature. If that segment was acting also to save its own skin and, in the process, that of the oligarchy, the latter did not view the situation in the same light and generally opposed even the most moderate reforms. Although the author does not argue the point, his study leads to the conclusion that the gradualist approach was working in El Salvador; working, that is, until it be-

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came a real threat to the established order and, hence, could no longer be tolerated.

A principal source for this book is a series of taped interviews with José Napoleón Duarte at Tulane University, January 22–February 2, 1973. One might expect that this would result in a one-dimensional study, but such is not the case. Webre understands his subject well but does not embrace it. He explains clearly what Duarte and the Christian Democrats did and wanted to do, but his analysis is balanced and reserved. In fact, he gives substantial credit for improved conditions in El Salvador during the decade of the sixties to the political "liberalization" policy of presidents Julio Adalberto Rivera and Fidel Sánchez Hernández. Webre does not treat these two colonels as stereotypes but as complex personalities, whose progressivism offended the oligarchy, even if they shrank from structural change. If one gets a more favorable impression of Rivera than Sánchez, it is probably because the latter was in office when the liberalization policy converted the Christian Democrats from a token opposition to a possible winner at the polls. The circumstances surrounding the defeat of Duarte and his party in the Salvadoran elections of 1972 are critical for understanding what is happening in El Salvador today.

Specialists, as well as the general reader, will be delighted with this book. There is not a great deal available about El Salvador, and Webre is a talented historian and writer.

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THOMAS W. MERRICK and DOUGLAS H. GRAHAM. *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1979. Pp. xviii, 385. $22.50.

The authors present a critical review of the demographic literature and provide analyses and interpretations of their own. This is a significant book in the field and will probably be read by historical geographers specializing in other countries. The subtitle is somewhat misleading, since the authors, in seeking to establish the population of 1800, provide some discussion of eighteenth-century trends. On the other hand, since census data is fragmentary before 1872 and fraught with errors and incomparabilities until 1940, the bulk of the book deals with the contemporary period, where the analysis becomes quite sophisticated indeed. The authors accept Apolonia's estimate of 3.25 million for 1798, based on assumptions that include Furtado's guess of .30 million for 1700. Population growth was therefore at an annual rate of 1.7 percent from 1800 to 1900.

Curtin's estimate of slave imports, which was no more than a judicious choice among earlier guesses, is again passed on. Slenes's rate of manumissions is mentioned, but notice is not taken of their conditionality—most often the owner's death, which was likely to precede the slave's, or at least the slave's menopause. The Leff-Denslow explanation of high manumission rates is favorably referred to. High slave mortality is confirmed and inter-provincial traffic and slave occupations are discussed. The European immigration is presented as a contribution to the labor force and to entrepreneurship, although it is acknowledged that regional and class inequalities increased during the period of inflow. The authors recall Graham's earlier discovery of the fortuitous relative decline of the U.S. and Argentina as destinations in the 1890s.

The authors discuss growth and composition of the labor force, urbanization, rural-urban migration, urban poverty, mortality and fertility trends, and planning implications for the period since 1940. These are important data for contemporary historians, especially in relation to economic development. However, the materials are manifestly slippery and the conclusions tentative. Even the recent censuses bristle with signs of badly collected data. The authors, for example, must derive measures of the "informally" employed—those outside the minimum wage laws—who may comprise a third of the urban work force.

Women's labor emerges as a most peculiar institution. It is evident that women were defined out of the labor force in 1920, since the dominant ideology was that women were non-functional (one suspects that happened to ex-slaves, too, but the authors do not notice). Women's productive activity is largely defined even now as not-work, by what appears to be an international convention. Although women appear with greater frequency in recent labor censuses, they are in fewer areas of production. Unlike men, they do not improve their condition when they migrate city-ward.

Demographic data contains hidden ideological dangers, as Robert Berkhofer would notice. The data, after all, are collected by bureaucracies, for the purposes of the ruling class. One may forget that the subjects are humans, not "human resources." Mentioning that marriage was less common among slaves than freedmen, the authors hazard that that "may be an important clue to one of the attractions of manumission." Conflict is excluded from these analyses and success seems to be gauged by the willingness of the response to the "opportunities" provided by property owners and authoritarian government.

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HÉLIO SILVA. *1954: Um tiro no coração (O Ciclo de Vargas—Vol. XVI)*. With the collaboration of MARIA CECÍLIA RIBAS CARNEIRO. (Documentos da História Contemporânea, number 72.) Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira. 1978. Pp. 393.

This is the sixteenth and last volume in the "Vargas Cycle"—the massive documentary history of Brazil Hélio Silva began publishing nine years ago, with his initial volume on the first *tenente* (lieutenant) revolt of 1922 as the appropriate point of departure. It is historically significant (as well as ironic) that military officers were in 1930 Getúlio Vargas's *deus ex machina* but in 1945 and 1954 his Nemesis. This volume documents the dramatic events from 1951 to 1954 that led Brazil's first populist president in desperation to take his own life as the only honorable way out of a confrontation with the military and the political opposition. The precipitating event was the death of an air force major in the company of the incendiary anti-Vargas journalist Carlos Lacerda; the plot was hatched by a corrupt presidential bodyguard, a trusted retainer in Vargas's service. Subsequent investigations, instigated by Lacerda and others, revealed widespread corruption by some of the president's family and closest aides. Vargas himself, however, was never implicated in such venal deeds, but he was held responsible for not extirpating the practices. He paid with his life, eventually, for that mistake.

As with other volumes in the Vargas Cycle, this one consists primarily of the citation of a series of verbatim documents, held together by a historical narrative that is more factual than interpretive most of the time. Ordinarily, this method would not satisfy the canons of the best historical writing, but the events recounted here are so momentous that the interested reader will not usually object to depositions and other documents that often run to as much as several pages, especially when they shed new light on hitherto confused or obscured episodes. Silva and his able collaborator Maria Cecília Ribas Carneiro have left no stone unturned to get at all the documentary sources that can lead to a better understanding of the actors on the national political stage of the time.

Silva deals successively with Vargas's electoral campaign and victory in 1950 (Part I); the first years of his presidency, including the tempestuous events surrounding the creation of *Pétrobras*, the state oil monopoly in 1952 (Part II); the "beginning of the end"—the creation of the pro-Vargas newspaper *Última Hora* and the political repercussions of the attempted assassination of Carlos Lacerda (Part III); and finally, the dénouement of Vargas and his regime. In addition to documents cited in the text, the volume also has a final section of annexes of other documents, *in extenso*, which may be of interest to the reader.

This volume is not for the uninitiated in recent Brazilian history. In fact, one should have read the preceding fifteen volumes in Silva's Vargas Cycle in order to take full meaning from the events related here. Silva does not disguise his admiration and sympathy for Getúlio Vargas but realizes that the president was—like Greek tragic heroes—doomed by forces beyond his control.

Silva tells us that this volume is his last. More is the pity, since he has made a major contribution to Brazilian historiography by his unrelenting search for the documentary evidence to arrive at better comprehension of political evolution in this great South American nation. We can, however, take consolation in the fact that he and Ribas Carneiro are training a staff of documentary technicians at the historical center at the Cândido Mendes Faculty in Rio de Janeiro, where their documentary sources are open to all scholars.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

NORBERT HORN and JÜRGEN KOCKA, editors. *Recht und Entwicklung der Grossunternehmen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Wirtschafts-, sozial- und rechtshistorische Untersuchungen zur Industrialisierung in Deutschland, Frankreich, England und den USA.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 40.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 1979. Pp. 685. DM 132.

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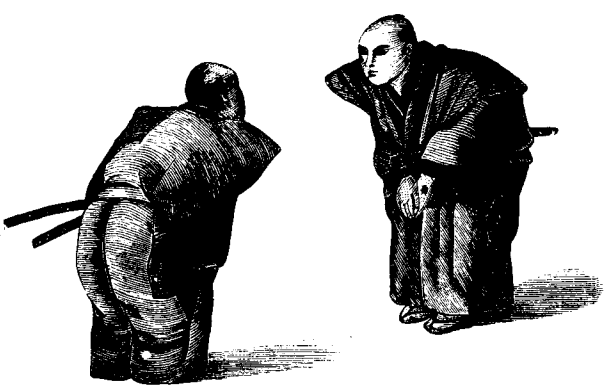
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TO THE EDITOR:

Charles M. Radding has recently attempted to explain the Renaissance of the twelfth century, especially the abandonment of trial by ordeal, as a change in cognitive processes (*AHR*, 84 [1979]: 945–69). He has postulated that, before the twelfth century, men did not progress beyond the "pre-operational" stage (as described by the psychologist Jean Piaget), normally found in modern six-year-olds and characterized by a disinterest in motivation and interiority and by a reliance on external authority. As we (a medieval historian and a developmental psychologist) shall indicate, Radding may have combined a misunderstanding of psychology with a misinterpretation of medieval history. Radding was quite able to summarize Piaget's theories correctly; he failed by attempting to apply them contrary to Piaget's intent. Piaget meant his stages of cognitive development to apply to the maturation of all men, regardless of whether or not they lived in a technologically sophisticated society (Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child*, trans. Marjorie Gabain [1955], 239–40). For Piaget, all children progress through the stages of development at more or less the same pace, unless they are seriously mentally retarded.

If one intends to use Piaget's pre-operational or egocentric stage to explain a disinterest in the problem of intention, one must realize that someone at this stage would be incapable of the rational processes of cause and effect. If a child does not appreciate motivation, he will also not appreciate physical causation. "It is precisely this unity of behavior which makes the factors in development common to both the cognitive and the affective aspects" (Piaget and Bärbel Inhelder, *The Psychology of the Child*, trans. Helen Weaver [1969], 158). Medieval adults could not have carried out a life of agriculture, any more than could modern children, without being able to cooperate in the full sense of the word with others, determine such vital issues as when to plant or harvest, or make a rational decision on whether to adopt a new agricultural tool or technique; yet all of these processes would be impossible at Piaget's egocentric stage (note Radding's own description of this stage, p. 954). Also incorrect is the equation of the childhood stage, with its strong reliance on external authority, with a period in which all adults agree on obeying the same authority; rather, in Piaget's egocentric stage, different children arrive at completely different notions of what the external authority has ruled (Piaget, *The Child's Conception of Physical Causality*, trans. Marjorie Gabain [1960], 291–92).

Not only did Professor Radding misapply psychological theories, but he also did medieval history a gross disservice. Most college students are only exposed to medieval history for a few weeks in a broad survey course, often not taught by a medievalist; and an article, in a general journal like *AHR*, which presents medieval adults as equivalent to modern children, will certainly tend to set back the efforts of medievalist to reduce the prevalent notion that people who lived before the modern time must have been less intelligent than we are. One of the chief purposes of history is to encourage an understanding of and appreciation for people who perceived life and behaved in a manner very different from ours. Although Radding explicitly sides with most modern medievalists against the nineteenth-century view that there has been a straight-line progression from early "dark times" to the wonders of the present (p. 947), it is difficult not to see his discussion as a new resurgence of this concept, half-hidden though it is in psychological jargon. His title alone, "Superstition to Science," indicates his progression-

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ist thinking. He may have announced that it is possible to speak of a society as being "less primitive or more rational" without using these as value-laden terms (p. 966), but it is hard to see how.

Moving to particulars, there is, in fact, abundant evidence of interiority in the writings of Christian authors of the early Middle Ages, indicating they had progressed beyond Piaget's pre-operational stage. Jesus, of course, put the main emphasis on one's inner thoughts (as in the comment that a man who lusts after a woman has already committed adultery with her in his heart), and Augustine in the early fifth century insisted that intent was more important than action (in for example, telling women who had undergone forcible rape that they had not sinned against their vows of chastity). In the tenth century, such figures as Abbot Odo of Cluny showed a strong sense of interiority in their writings, as Barbara H. Rosenwein pointed out in comments on an earlier article by Radding (*AHR*, 84 [1979]: 309). The attempt to teach in the schools an application of dialectical reasoning to articles of faith began not in the twelfth century as Radding suggests (pp. 959–60) but with such eleventh-century figures as Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028). There was thus a long tradition within Christianity that emphasized intent, interiority, and logic. But the question of whether medieval men were cognitive children will not be settled only by setting examples against examples; whether or not a particular activity represents childlike perceptions is always subject to various interpretations. Rationality is a process, not a conclusion; it does not require that every reasoning adult share the same outlook. The gradual elimination of ordeals can be described more plausibly in functionalist terms as the gradual ascendance of that faction of society that considered them as not efficacious than by any theory that requires a major change in the perceptive mode of an entire society in the twelfth century.

Social scientists have long rejected "ontology recapitulates phylogeny" as a key to the development of the human race. Archaeologists do not look at children when theorizing about the behavior of Cro-Magnon man (whose brain case was in any events larger than ours), and historians of art do not see the scribbles and early attempts at representation drawn by children as at all similar to the highly intricate and technically sophisticated cave paintings of the Neolithic period. It is hoped that Professor Radding's attempt to equate medieval thinking with the cognitive processes of children will similarly be rejected.

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD
University of California, San Diego, and
W. LAMBERT BRITTAIN
Cornell University

PROFESSOR RADDING REPLIES

The fact that W. Lambert Brittain and Constance Brittain Bouchard did not agree with my article does not surprise me, since I did not expect to satisfy all readers on the basis of the evidence it is possible to present in a short essay. But, where I had hoped the article's publication would provoke a serious discussion of the interconnections between cognition and culture, Brittain and Bouchard's emotional letter provides instead a fine example of the worst kind of interdisciplinary collaboration: a medievalist who knows little psychology, and a psychologist who knows little history, pooling their prejudices.

About the only thing Professors Bouchard and Brittain seem to think I have done well is to summarize Piaget's work accurately. Unfortunately, this is a compliment of dubious value because they themselves seem to have only a tenuous understanding of his theories, as, for example, when they treat him as a maturationist who believes "all children progress through the stages at more or less the same pace." Where they got this idea I am not sure, since I have not been able to find a passage such as they describe in *Language and Thought of the Child*; in any case, this was Piaget's first book, written when he was but 27. There are many places, however, where Piaget discussed the implications of the differences in rates of development among children of different cultures; in one essay on the subject he specifically suggested that "it is quite possible, and this is the impression we have from known ethnographical work, that in many societies adult thought does not go beyond the level of 'concrete' operations, and therefore does not reach that of propositional operations which develop between the ages twelve and fifteen in our milieus" (Piaget, "Comparative Research in Genetic Psychology," in *The Child and Reality* [1973], 160; and, for additional references, see my footnote 29). Piaget also consistently seemed to take a puckish delight in comparing the beliefs of modern children about natural phenomena with those of the pre-Socratics and other early scientific writers; in *The Psychology of the Child,* which Bouchard and Brittain cite, he compared the objective morality of children to the refusal of the ancient Hebrews to touch the ark of the covenant under any circumstances (p. 126 n. 29), and he illustrated the difficulty of reasoning about natural phenomena by pointing out that Aristotle's conception of speed did "not go beyond purely concrete operations," although Aristotle's logical works are far more sophisticated (p. 148 n. 6). Bouchard and Brittain might legitimately have taken Piaget to task for making these analogies; what is not legitimate is to pretend Piaget did not himself treat these analogies as valid and significant.

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For historians, of course, the central question is not whether I have used Piaget correctly but whether I have illuminated at all the aspects of medieval culture I addressed. Though accusing me of misinterpreting my historical evidence, Bouchard and Brittain offer essentially only two pieces of evidence in refutation. The first is their bald assertion that medieval adults could not have carried out a life of agriculture without having use of advanced logic. I suspect Bouchard and Brittain are either overestimating the complexity of the tasks or underestimating the range of problems to which prepropositional thought is entirely adequate, because in many societies children do begin field work at a very young age and it is the lack of physical strength more than intellectual incapacity that poses the chief obstacle to eight- or ten-year-old children engaging in premodern agriculture. Certainly adults in societies where formal operations have been found to be rare or absent survive somehow.

The other piece of evidence is Barbara H. Rosenwein's example of the intentionality of Odo of Cluny. I will note, first, that intention has nothing to do with my discussion of ordeals to which this letter ostensibly replies; and, second, that Rosenwein is a colleague of mine (and a tenured one at that!) whom I have no desire to debate in public. Though I know and respect her knowledge of Odo of Cluny, she does not persuade me on this point: Odo's habitual casting down of his eyes is the most literal reading imaginable of the Benedictine Rule's command to look at the ground in humility and a perfect example of objective morality at work. (I have already contrasted Odo to Bernard of Clairvaux on this point [*AHR*, 83 (1978): 585].) And it is thoroughly nonsensical to argue, as Professors Bouchard and Brittain do, that, because Jesus and Augustine judged by intention, early medieval Christians must have also. One need only contrast the Benedictine Rule to Cassian's monastic writings or to the rule of St. Basil—both of which Benedict knew—to see illustrated a shift from interior life to exterior behavior, from fraternity to hierarchy, from charity and love to obedience. This shift is, indeed, a central problem of early medieval culture: why the intellectual accomplishments of the classical world, whether in religion, law, or science, were so poorly understood for so many centuries by people who had those writings constantly before their eyes. Bouchard and Brittain seem happily unaware that this issue even exists to be discussed.

I realize my articles could be read as asserting that "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny"; but this impression is due largely to the period I study. If I had shifted slightly my angle of vision by discussing the nebulousness of the idea of nature in Augustine or Gregory the Great compared to classical philosophers, it would have seemed instead that I was claiming "phylogeny reverses ontogeny." Neither position, of course, makes sense, and my concern has solely been to raise the question of how the social forces that influence cognitive development affect at the same time the shape of a whole culture.

Professors Bouchard and Brittain's real objection seems to be that my argument, if accepted, would mean medieval adults were less intelligent than we or were equivalent to children. This conclusion betrays an extraordinarily narrow conception of what adulthood is and of what is of value in human life. Similarities or differences in reasoning apart, adults are distinguished from children by their emotional development, their ability to bear children and raise a family, and their general experience of the world. Nor does the fact that one person reasons at a higher cognitive stage than another prove that the first is better than the second: I could argue that Homer shared children's attitudes toward nature, chance, and morality without in any way gainsaying the mastery of rhythm, language, and imagery that assures his place as one of the greatest poets in Western civilization. To suggest, as Bouchard and Brittain do, that to respect the people of the early Middle Ages we must believe they reasoned exactly as we do is at once to overvalue reason, to insist that we recast everyone in our mold, at whatever violence to their actual words and thoughts, and to obstruct the efforts of scholars and students alike to appreciate the importance of the twelfth-century shift in attitudes toward self, society, and the world.

CHARLES M. RADDING
Loyola University of Chicago

TO THE EDITOR:

I read Henry A. Turner's review of my book *Stresemann: Ein Lebensbild* (*AHR*, 84 [1979]: 1079–80) without surprise. For he had attacked me before in his chapter in Gilbert Ziebura, *Grundfragen der deutschen Aussenpolitik seit 1871*. When I questioned him about this unprovoked attack, he replied politely that he should not have expressed himself in this fashion.

One trouble with his present review is that he has totally misunderstood my purposes with a *Lebensbild*, although I explained them in my *Vorwort*. This is not a political biography in the narrow sense of the word nor a doctoral dissertation. It is the life story of an outstanding statesman, based not only on the rich available printed material but also on a wealth of unpublished information from many important sources, which I was able to gather together, in addition to my own memories.

The second and indeed the major trouble is that Professor Turner is so full of prejudice against Stresemann, as one often finds among a certain group of American historians of postwar years. He

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claimed that Stresemann was "a singularly unremarkable person." Anybody, however, who knew Stresemann personally, who had followed his startling rise from modest beginnings, and who had observed his far-reaching cultural interests is bound to disagree with Turner totally. I refer here, for example, to the statement that Thomas Mann authorized me two years before his death to print in my book and to the words of Hans von Raumer, Stresemann's cabinet colleague, his political, but not his personal friend, who wrote and said to me that Stresemann "was the only politician of the Weimar era who possessed Genius."

What my aim in this book was, and what Professor Turner has treated so ungraciously, has been given a fair appraisal by Karl Dietrich Erdmann, the leading German authority on Stresemann. He devoted generous space to my *Stresemann* in his journal *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (30 [1979]: 30–31). He described the author there as "the most thorough expert on all ways and detours in Stresemann's life." Erdmann agreed that the author was right not to write a political biography, although "no one is more qualified than he."

There was good reason why I resisted the temptation to write a new political biography. For, while I prepared my book in the early 1970s, four works appeared that seemed to satisfy this need for the present in many respects: Jon Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy*; Michael-Olaf Maxelon, *Stresemann und Frankreich*; Martin Walsdorff, *Westorientierung und Ostpolitik*; and Werner Weidenfeld, *Die Englandpolitik Gustav Stresemanns*. It seemed senseless to cover much of the same ground. Without neglecting his policies at all, I rather put more emphasis on an aspect not treated adequately by any other postwar historian—the personality of Gustav Stresemann, which I, however, knew intimately.

Contrary to Professor Turner's assumptions, I have thoroughly examined the *whole* microfilms of the Stresemann *Nachlass* (his *Vermächtnis* was for me of only secondary importance); the *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Kabinett Stresemann*, which I used in the original in the Bundesarchiv, since the printed edition was then not yet ready; the *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945*, Series B, which I consulted in Bonn, as far as they were not yet published; and the pertinent *Documents on British Foreign Policy*. All of this is clearly enough indicated on pages 10 and 328 of my book and elsewhere but did not need to be spelled out each time in footnotes for the purposes of this *Lebensbild* designed for a wider public of educated readers; nevertheless, each chapter contains a large number of footnotes.

Finally, one other erroneous observation of Professor Turner. I did not "lard" my book with favorable comments about Stresemann, although my inquiries produced an unexpectedly large number of them from prominent contemporaries, among them his colleague and successor Julius Curtius, his associates Gaus and Dirksen in the Foreign Office, and Social Democratic leaders such as Wilhelm Sollman, Gustav Radbruch, and Paul Löbe. But I also published the criticisms I had received from Alfred Weber, Albert Einstein, Erich Koch-Weser, and others. That the book must have many merits, which Turner chose to overlook or to misunderstand, has been observed not only by Erdmann but also by many other notable experts in Germany and Switzerland. Instead of printing here the enthusiastic comments of experts like Ambassador Werner Otto von Hentig, Karl-Heinz Janssen, Walter Görlitz, and others, I conclude with the judgment of A. Cattani, a Swiss writer of note, who says in his review article (in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*) about my book that "it is a life story that may be considered to be the most comprehensive and most thorough work about Stresemann's complex personality."

FELIX HIRSCH
Trenton State College

PROFESSOR TURNER REPLIES:

Felix Hirsch puts some words into and takes others out of my mouth. I have never told him, politely or otherwise, that I wished to retract my reference to his first book on Stresemann in my chapter of the Ziebura book. All I did there in any event was to cite Hirsch's book once in a footnote as an example of a widespread school of writing about Stresemann, which hardly constitutes an "attack." Hirsch subtracts from my words by quoting only that fragment of the following sentence from my *AHR* review, which I italize here: "Unfortunately, the information Hirsch marshals on Stresemann will predictably fail—for all except the man's most uncritical admirers—to dispel the widely held view that, aside from his political career, he was *a singularly unremarkable person.*"

I hope the words of the many other persons quoted by Hirsch in his letter have been handled more scrupulously than have mine.

HENRY A. TURNER, JR.
Yale University

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Recent Deaths

GLENN W. GRAY died August 20, 1979, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Born July 28, 1900, in New Vineyard, Maine, he spent his undergraduate years at Bowdoin College from which he received his A.B. degree in 1924. Under the supervision of Wallace Notestein he completed his doctorate at Cornell University in 1928. He joined the history department at the University of Nebraska in 1926, where he remained until his retirement in 1968. The development of the English constitution in the seventeenth century was his field of research. In 1927 he married Helen Barbar, who also took her doctorate under Notestein. Together the Grays devoted a lifetime to collaborating in editing two volumes of the "D'Ewes Journal of the Long Parliament, March 22—September 9, 1641," designed to follow volume one of a set edited by Notestein. These have not yet been published; possessed of immense learning, Gray was a perfectionist.

From 1941 to 1945 he was a member of the board of editors of *The Journal of Modern History*. He contributed chapters to Thompson and Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300–1500.* Over more than four decades, thousands of students received instruction in history from him; he supervised a large number of graduate students. The university bestowed upon him a distinguished teaching award. He mingled humanity with erudition and brought to the academic world high standards for himself, his students, and his colleagues.

JAMES A. RAWLEY
University of Nebraska

ROSS J. S. HOFFMAN, Professor of Modern European History at Fordham University from 1938 to 1967, died after a brief illness at the age of 77 in his home at Rye, New York, on December 16, 1979. Born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he received the A.B. from Lafayette College in 1923 and the Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1932. A popular lecturer and the author of several penetrating articles, Ross Hoffman's long academic career led to original contributions to the historical profession in three related areas of research. His study of modern international relations began with his dissertation published as *Great Britain and the German Trade Rivalry, 1874–1914* in 1933 (reprinted 1969), which was awarded the George L. Beer Prize of the American Historical Association. Later he returned to this subject in two well-received books that appeared during the war. In collaboration with G. C. Haines he wrote *The Origins and Background of the Second World War* in 1943, and in the following year he analyzed the role of the United States in the conflict in *The Durable Peace; a Study in American National Policy*. Both books were produced by Oxford University Press. In the decade between these diplomatic studies he worked in a different area that lead to two studies of the roots of contemporary political tensions: *The Organic State, an Historical View of Contemporary Politics* (1939) and *The Great Republic, an Historical View of the International Community* (1942). His final contribution to this series was given in his Gabriel Richard Lecture at Marquette University and published as the *Spirit of Politics and the Future of Freedom* (1950). In the postwar years he moved to a different field of political history that focused on the English constitution of the eighteenth century. First he prepared an anthology of extracts with commentary from the writings of Edmund Burke and then completed an important review of the relationship of England to the colonies in *Edmund Burke, New York Agent* published by the American Philosophical Society in 1956. When he retired after thirty years of teaching at Fordham with the rank of *Emeritus* he devoted his time to a fresh analysis of mid-eighteenth century parliamentary politics that was published in 1973 as *The Marquis: A Study of Lord Rockingham.*

He has been a founding member of the Conference on British Studies and in 1939 president of the American Catholic Historical Association. He was awarded honorary doctorates by Villanova, Marquette, Detroit, Fordham, St. John's, and the National University of Ireland. In his honor a volume of articles by his former students and colleagues was published as *Crisis in the Great Republic* in 1969. He will be remembered in the historical profession for his achievement and at his own university with gratitude as a colleague who could be counted upon for his warm friendships as well as his wise and urbane perceptions.

ALBERT J. LOOMIE
Fordham University

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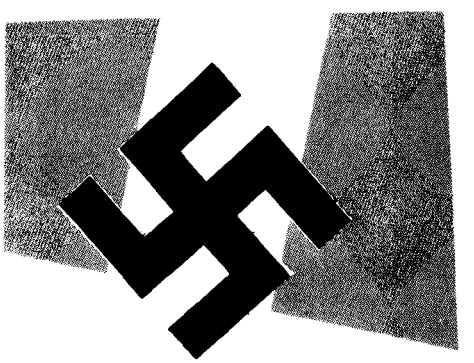
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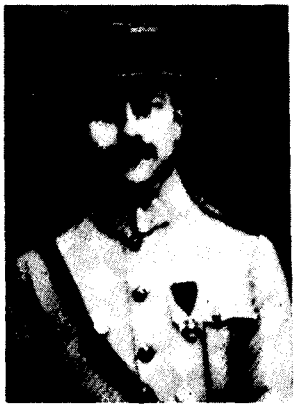
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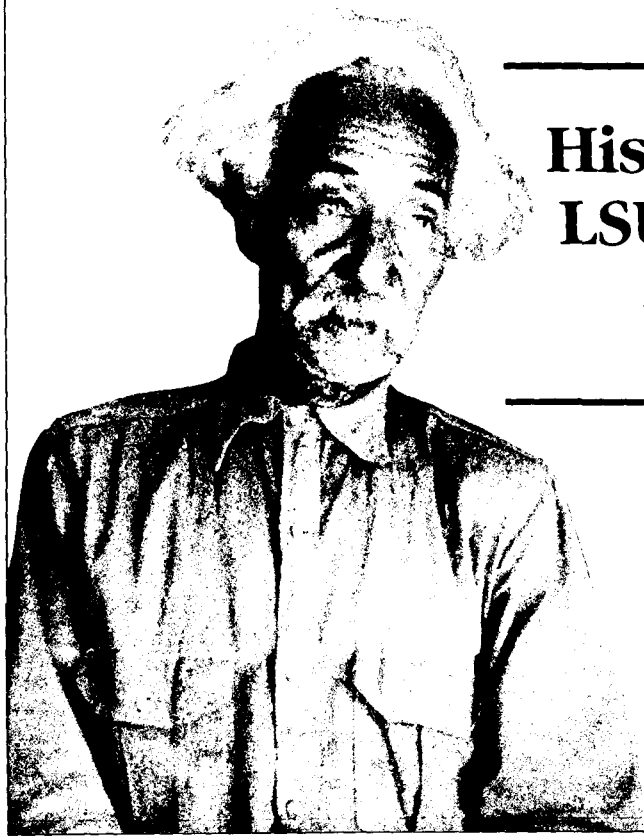


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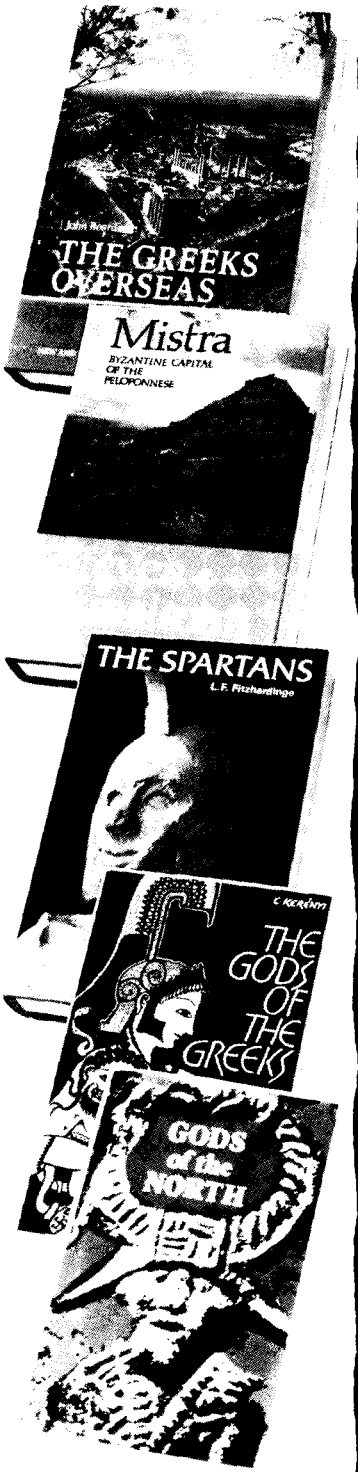
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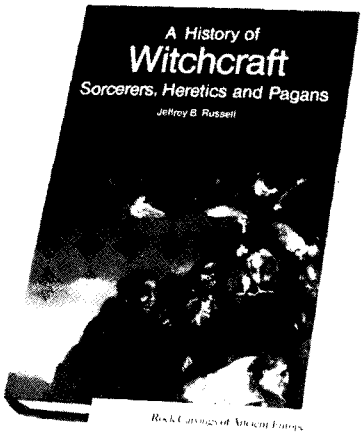


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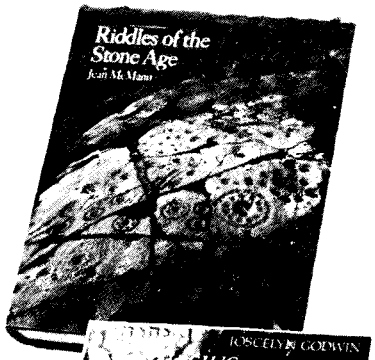
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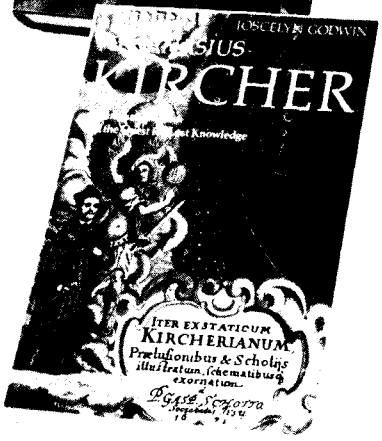
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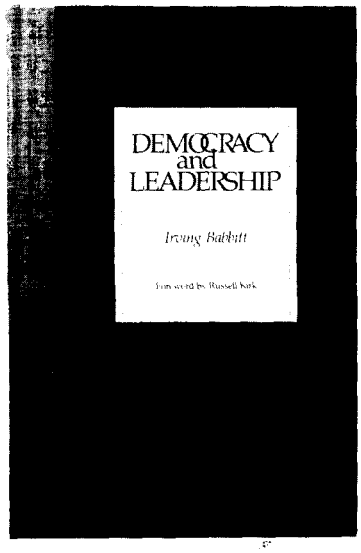
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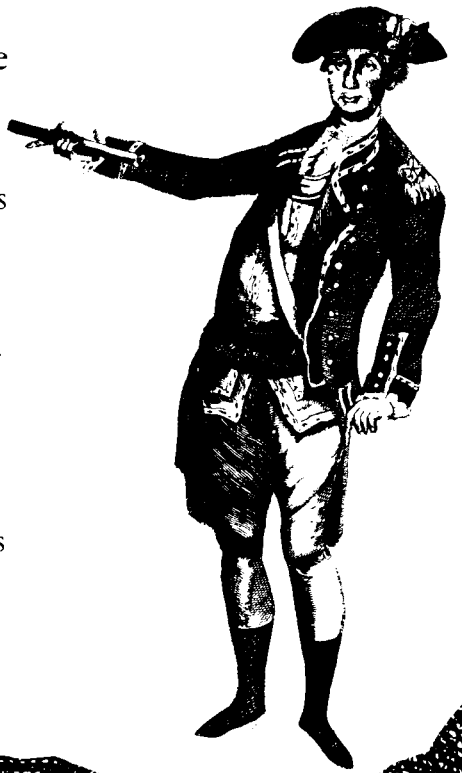
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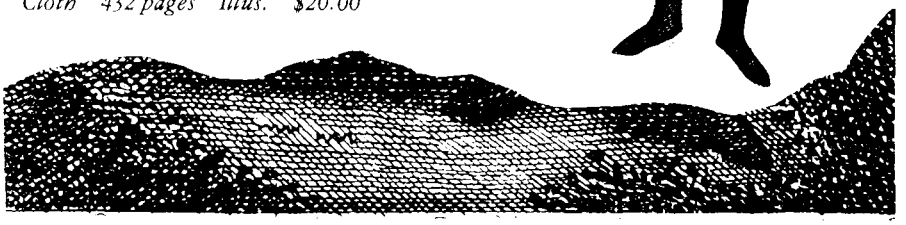
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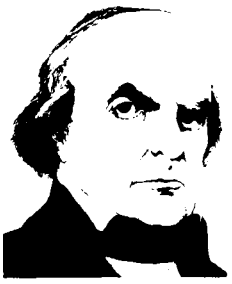


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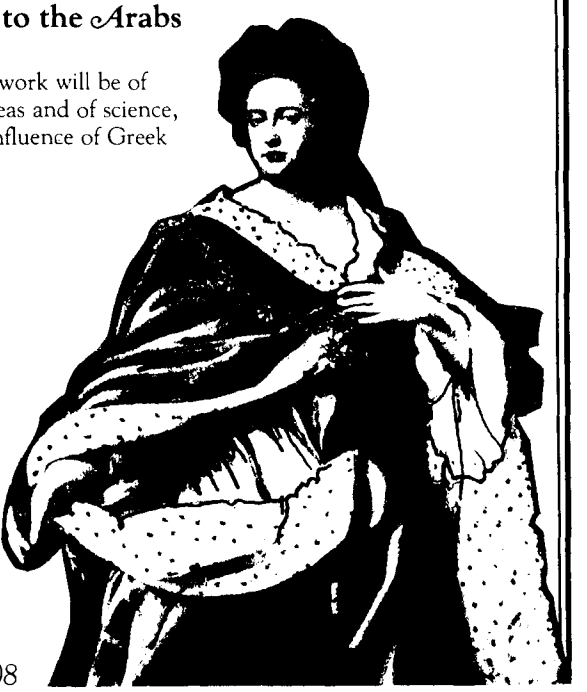
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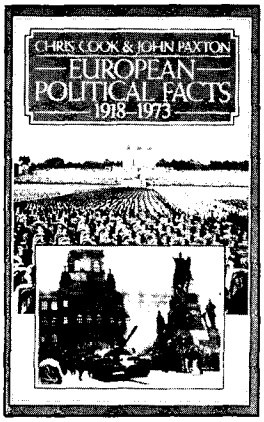
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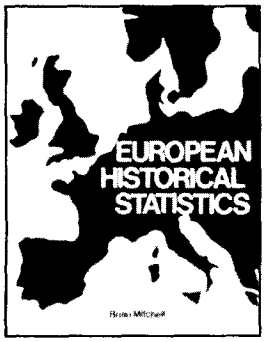
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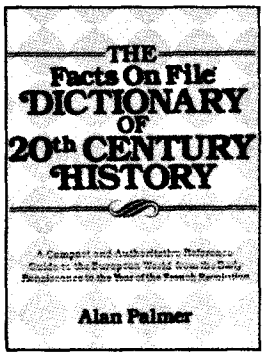
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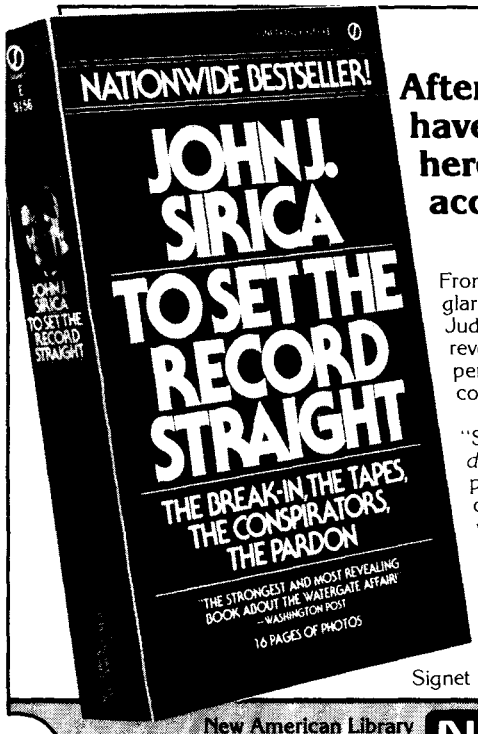
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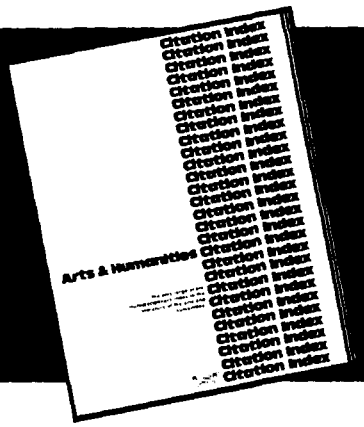
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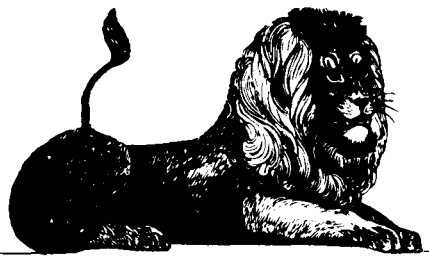
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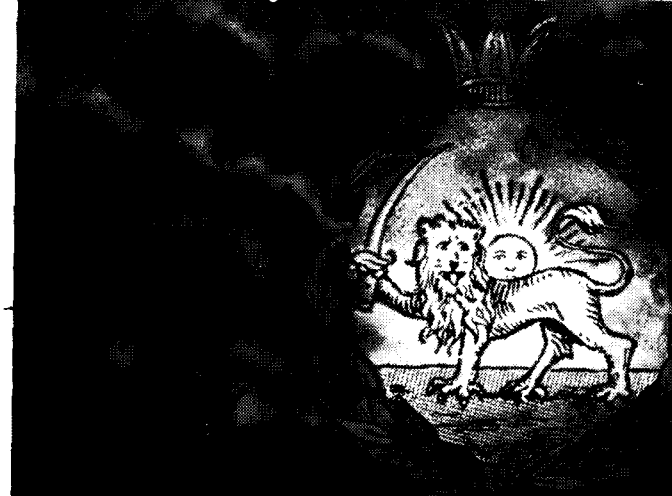
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